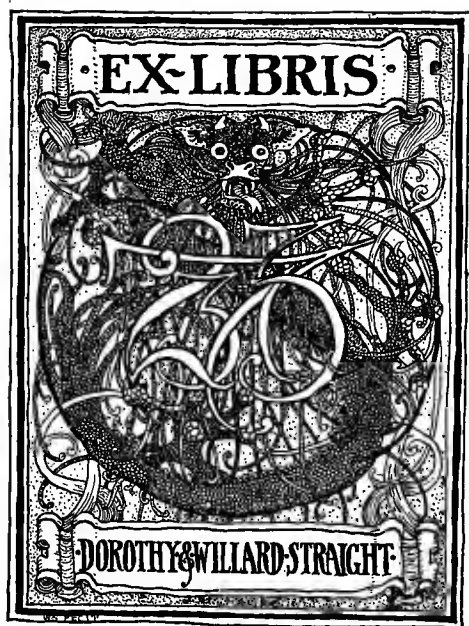


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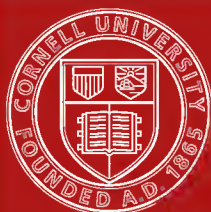
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DEMOCRACY AND ASSIMILATION



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DEMOCRACY AND ASSIMILATION

THE BLENDING OF IMMIGRANT HERITAGES
IN AMERICA

BY
JULIUS DRACHSLER

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
IN SMITH COLLEGE

New York
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1920

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TO ALL
WHO LOVE AMERICA
NOT ALONE FOR
WHAT SHE IS
BUT, EVEN MORE, FOR
WHAT SHE COULD BECOME

PREFACE

A detailed discussion of the statistical basis of this book and an appendix giving the source material in full, are contained in a monograph entitled *Inter-marriage in New York City, A Statistical Study of the Amalgamation of European Peoples*, to be published in the Columbia University Studies of History, Economics and Public Law. The data, drawn from more than 100,000 marriage certificates, cover a five-year period (1908-1912) before the European War. The monograph is a companion volume to this book which attempts to supplement the purely objective study of some of the facts of ethnic fusion by an interpretation of their larger bearing upon public policies of assimilation.

My sincere thanks are due to Professor A. A. Tenney and Professor R. E. Chaddock of Columbia University for the unfailing aid and counsel they gave while the book was in preparation. I also wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Dr. Philip Klein, Director of the Bureau of Education and Research, Southern Division of the American Red Cross, whose critical comments helped to clarify passages, and to my brother, Mr. Leo Drachsler, whose ceaseless help in the analysis of the original marriage records, in the construction of the statistical tables and in the gathering of much descriptive data, proved to be invaluable.

JULIUS DRACHSLER.

Northampton, Mass.

May 1st, 1920.

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PART I
THE BACKGROUND

DEMOCRACY AND ASSIMILATION

CHAPTER I

THE GREAT WAR AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICA

I

To the social psychologist probing the depths of American history, no period is so meaningful in its revelations of the national character as the fifty months from August, 1914, to November, 1918. Beginning with the fateful hour that ushered in the world-war, and ending with "mad Thursday,"¹ the American people were passing through a mental crisis the intensity of which was commensurate only with the revolutionary events that were its direct cause. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the mind of America was undergoing a profound change during these dramatic years. Through the irresistible pressure of circumstances, a vigorous but peaceful spirit of industrialism was transmuted into the white heat of martial ardor. This, coupled with a strange recrudescence of nationalism among the immigrant peoples, stamps the period as altogether unique in American experience.

¹ November 7th, 1918, so described by the journals of the day because of the half-crazed antics of joy of the multitudes that celebrated the premature news of the signing of the armistice. The date of the actual signing was November 11th.

II

In Europe the fierce fires of nationalistic strife had not been extinguished by the broadening economic interests of the various peoples during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. They had only been dimmed, and the whole continent was ready to burst into flames again upon the slightest provocation by the imperialistic war-lords. The assassination of the throne-apparent of Austria-Hungary in Serajevo on June 28th, 1914, furnished a fit pretext. Once the struggle was on (whatever may have been its ultimate economic causes), it drew nourishment from the deep and hidden well-springs of an aroused nationalistic spirit. In literal truth, then, the world war soon became a war of nationalities. The immediate motivating force was either the self-centered, brutal aims of the European imperialists at national pre-eminence in world politics, or the consciousness of an outraged, mutilated group life, as was the case in Belgium, France, Serbia and Roumania, or a fierce resentment of age-long domination by master races, as for example, that of the suppressed nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The greater the danger of annihilation, the stronger was the impulse to fight to the bitter end.

III

How did America echo this clash of peoples? How did her own national spirit respond to the new world-situation? For over two decades before the War, this country had been inundated by wave after wave of

immigration from practically all the countries involved in the conflict. The high water-mark had been reached in 1907 when almost 1,300,000 immigrants landed here.¹ During the year ending June 30th, 1914, very nearly 1¼ millions came, representing about 40 nationalities in Europe.¹ So marked, however, was the contrast between the peoples who arrived before 1880 and those who had come after that year, that students of the problem had already become accustomed to speak of the "old" and the "new" immigration, each with its supposed virtues and vices.² The Germans, French, Dutch, English, Scotch, Irish, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, or roughly, the peoples of the north and the north-west of Europe were the "old" settlers. Armenians, Bohemians and Moravians, Bulgarians, Serbians and Montenegrins, Croatians and Slovenians, Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians, Finns, Lithuanians, Greeks, Jews, Italians, Hungarians, Portuguese, Roumanians, Russians and Ruthenians, Spaniards, Syrians, Turks, constituted the major portion of the "newcomers."

It is an interesting circumstance, that, in the main, the source of the "old" immigration was the territory of the allied Powers and of their associates, while that of the "new" immigration was the area under the sway of the allies of Germany. To be sure, there were two important exceptions to this, leaving aside, of course, the case of Germany itself. They were Russia and

¹ *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1915, p. 122, Table XV.

² See, for example, *Reports of the Immigration Commission of 1911*.

Italy. But was not Italy a sworn ally in the Triple Alliance, and could autocratic Russia hope for sympathy from the down-trodden masses of East-European Jewry? Based on this coincidence, what was more comforting for many Americans than the prophecy that, since the "old" immigration was, on the whole, Anglo-Saxon in its culture and therefore pro-ally in its sympathies, and the "new" immigration was eastern-European in its civilization and therefore pro-German in *its* sympathies, the net result would be to neutralize public sentiment and to keep America permanently out of the War?¹ On the other hand, what was more alarming than the calamity-howlers' warning that there would be civil war in the United States, a war in which the nationals of one group of European contestants would be arrayed in bloody strife against the nationals of the other group?

Neither one nor the other of these predictions came wholly true. Indeed, a clearer insight into the state of mind of the numerous groups of immigrants and of their immediate descendants in the early stages of the war would have shown this to be inevitable. Among

¹ This thought is suggested, although not clearly expressed in the following words taken from an editorial in the *Immigrants in America Review* for September, 1915: "It has come with a distinct shock to many Americans that the hold of the mother country is so strong among even the sons and daughters born here of foreign-born parents. The fact remains that this is so, that it is more wide spread than we know and in case of war we would have in this country, if not actual traitors, a division of forces such as would make victory precarious in any aggressive prolonged warfare. It by no means follows that it would be 'America First' with many thousands who would prefer to cavil and criticize rather than to act."

the older, thoroughly Americanized settlers there was at first the disposition to look upon the "brawl across the water" as something utterly unrelated to life on this continent. They were strengthened in their convictions by the early utterances of President Wilson on neutrality. As the conflict, however, waxed hotter, and one nation after another was swept into the conflagration, cleavages in American opinion began to appear more distinctly. The severe reverses of the allies in the initial military operations began to shake the comfortable neutrals in America out of their dreams of security. Sentiment among the older settlers did not range itself uniformly on the allied side. Irishmen in America, for example, were not at all harmonious in support of the allied cause, for the age-long wrangle about home-rule, fanned into a fresh flame of bitterness, was hardly conducive to concord. On the other hand, the German population in the United States did not lack its fierce denouncers of the imperialist regime in Germany. These opponents of the German government, many of them descendants of the early freedom-loving German settlers of '48, tried to rouse the masses of the German immigrants and their children against the Junkers, in the same spirit as their revolutionist forefathers had done over sixty years before.

IV

But even more marked was the mental tension among the peoples from southern and eastern Europe as the war dragged wearily on, much to the anguish of a dismayed world. Italy, an ally of the Central

Powers before the war, remained inexplicably neutral. The Italian population in the United States, following breathlessly the course of events on the continent, was in a peculiar dilemma. Together with their countrymen abroad, their hearts were set against Austria and upon the unredeemed lands of the Adriatic; yet, officially, they were permitted to be merely interested on-lookers. What was the home-government going to do? Should Italy side with her former allies or should she abandon them? Was it right or just to turn against them? These soul-searching questions flashed back and forth through the minds of the Italians in America and kept the masses in a state of perpetual mental turmoil.

The immigrants from the ill-fated Austro-Hungarian monarchy, too, commenced to find their voices. Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Roumanians, Croatians, Slovenes, in one furious medley of denunciation began to give vent to their long-suppressed hatred of the Hapsburgs. The domineering Hungarians, though themselves condemned as tyrants, joined lustily in tearing to tatters, in effigy at least, the accursed garments of the Austrian Emperor.

But perhaps no immigrant population was so tragically torn asunder by deep doubts as were the Jews. On the one side was Czarist Russia, the arch-enemy of their people, an ally of democratic England—England, that had always been the friend of Jewry throughout the world! On the other side was Germany, the inventor of scientific anti-semitism, the consistent foe of Zionist aspirations! And yet, they cried, the blood of Jewish men was flowing freely in the cause of both!

Back and forth swayed the sentiments of the immigrant groups in America. Sharper grew the angry urgings of the advocates of military and naval preparedness and of universal military service. Shriller sounded the warnings of the pacifists against "meddling in the squabble" across the sea,¹ while clear above the tumult rang the voice of President Wilson, counselling patience and forbearance.²

V

Thus the European War in its early stages produced a curious double effect upon American public opinion. It vigorously stimulated group-consciousness among the vast numbers of immigrants and to a degree among their immediate descendants, by bringing sharply to light old-world rivalries, old-world hopes and old-world passions. But because of the numberless rifts that soon appeared, the total effect seems to have been

¹ For a contemporary account of the controversy between the two groups, see files of the *N. Y. Times*, under the headings "Military and Naval Preparations", "Pacifism", "Anti-Militarism" and related subjects, beginning as early as January 1913, and extending through 1916 up to the declaration of war by the United States. Among the spokesmen on both sides were Secretaries of War and of the Navy, military and naval officers, congressmen, senators, representatives of organizations for the promotion of preparedness, such as the Navy League, the National Security League, societies for the fostering of pacifist ideas, such as the Intercollegiate Socialist League, the Anti-Militarist League, university and college presidents and teachers, clergymen, editors, social workers and private citizens of prominence in national affairs.

² For an account of the policy of Woodrow Wilson before the entrance of the United States into the war, see Robinson and West, *Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1914-1917*.

a neutralization of sentiment. America, it would appear, remained neutral during the opening year of the European war not because of a supreme indifference to trans-Atlantic affairs. America *found* herself neutral in spite of herself. Her corporate consciousness was divided by profound differences of sentiment among her people. Her mind was tortured by doubts, harassed by cynicism, haunted by horrors of war. Add to this basic division of feeling the sense of remoteness of danger, the natural sluggishness of a peaceful, industrial people to plunge into war, the stimulation of certain industries, and the apparently inexplicable attitude of America in the beginning of the war is very largely, if not wholly resolved.

VI

But slowly, under the irresistible pressure of momentous events, America's self-enforced neutrality began to yield to a desire for active participation in the world-conflict, until by the end of the third year of the war, the United States was arrayed against the Central Powers, determined to use "force, force without stint" as the only answer to the blind arrogance of Germany's war-lords. In this profound transformation none were so intimately involved and so anxiously concerned as the immigrant peoples themselves. For them it was indeed a "storm and stress" period. They had the consciousness that the eyes of all America were upon them; that the supreme test of loyalty had come and that they must stand or fall by it in the esteem of their adopted country.

The significance of this national crisis for the future

of American life can best be understood by studying the effects the war has had upon the group life of the immigrants in this country. No one will ever know completely what the immigrant has lived through in mental agony, in a thrilling revival of ancient folk-hopes and in soul-searching questionings about his attitude towards America. It is possible, however, to form a clear notion of some of these unique experiences and to set forth their meaning for the larger life of the country.

Three periods can conveniently be distinguished: the first, extending from the outbreak of the war in August, 1914, to the entrance of the United States into it in April, 1917; the second, comprising the comparatively brief span of the active participation of America up to November, 1918; the last, covering the aftermath from the signing of the armistice to the convening of the Peace Conference in the Spring of 1919.

Apart from the general heightening of group consciousness among the immigrants because of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, there were three specific forces at work enhancing the nationalistic spirit among them. The return of reservists to their home-lands, either voluntarily or at the behest of their Governments, was the first. More effective than this, because more basic in its appeal and more wide-spread in its influence, was the relief work done by the American kinsmen of the peoples in the warring countries. But more systematic and sustained and therefore still more telling than either of these, was the intensified activity of the foreign-language press.

VII

The first to stir among the immigrant peoples were the reservists of the various countries involved in the conflict.¹ Immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities, governments of the warring nations instructed their representatives in the United States to issue a call to the colors for the reservists of their lands.

On the 30th day of July, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador sent out word for the reservists of that country to return to Europe. Included among the estimated number of 200,000 to 250,000 men up to the age of 42 in the United States, were Magyars, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles and Croatians. A few days later,² the Swiss chargé d'affaires at Washington issued a mobilization order for all Swiss reservists in the country between the ages of 20 and 32. Presently 2,500 to 3,000 German reservists had registered at the office of the German consul in New York City. Nor were the French reservists slow in heeding the urgent call of their motherland. During the first week of August about 3,000 sailed to join their comrades already on the field of battle. Towards the end of the month³ the British consul-general in New York City ordered the British reservists in the United States to hold themselves in readiness to be called to the colors. By this

¹ No separate figures of the number of reservists who departed from the United States are given in the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. The estimates presented are taken from news items appearing in the *New York Times* at the beginning of the War, as are also the other events cited.

² August 3, 1914.

³ August 23, 1914.

order, it was estimated about 10,000 to 12,000 would be affected in the Eastern part of the United States. Late in October, 1914, a despatch announced the arrival of 300 Russian reservists in Petrograd by way of Canada. And so a steady stream of human material poured back into Europe to feed the insatiable fires of war.

Meanwhile relations between Austria and Italy were becoming increasingly strained, until on May 24, 1915, the slender bonds that had tied Italy to the Triple Alliance snapped and Italy ranged herself on the side of the Allies. Long before the break, however, Italian reservists in the United States, estimated at 400,000, had been going back in smaller or larger groups. One hundred and fifty thousand are supposed to have returned before Italy's declaration of war upon Austria. The moment the position of the home government had become unequivocally clear, the returning tide began to swell. Wholesale registration of Italian reservists began in the large Italian settlements in the United States, such as New York City, Chicago and New Orleans. By September, 1915, Italian reservists were sailing back at the rate of 3,000 to 5,000 a week. Greece, too, was becoming embroiled in the European carnage, and its government also sent a ringing call across the waters for all loyal Greek fighting men to come to the rescue. On October 12, 1915, 2,500 Greeks are reported as having taken passage from Jersey City and the returning tide did not ebb until Greece, at the end of November, 1916, declared war on Bulgaria.

Doubtless, many of the reservists were moved to go back by a mixture of vague fear of the home government, of eagerness to join the fray and of genuine

attachment to the cause of the fatherland. Not a few must have returned because of the peremptory order from the military authorities of the home land. Early in August, 1915, for example, the German military authorities issued an order calling upon Poles all the world over, whose homes were in the territory under the German civil administration to return at once to their homes. Failure to obey was to be punished by an "absence tax" on the fortunes of the persons violating the order. In various direct and indirect ways, then, the home governments consciously influenced their nationals in America to return and take part in the war.

That the departure of reservists would be attended by more or less serious disturbances could easily have been foreseen. Rioting between contending nationals broke out in various large immigrant centres. Protests were sent to Washington against discrimination in favor of French liners sailing with French reservists, whereas German and Austro-Hungarian vessels were not permitted to leave port with the reservists of those countries. So persistent were the sympathizers of Germany and Austria-Hungary in their charges of favoritism on the part of the American government that, early in 1915, the Secretary of State felt it necessary to answer the attacks and defend the neutral policy of the Administration.¹ Even in Congress

¹ Letter of Secretary of State Bryan to United States Senator Stone, taking up twenty charges of discrimination and presenting the Administration's answer. January 20, 1915. *Department of State, Diplomatic Correspondence, European War Series*, No. 2, p. 58.

voices began to be heard protesting against the return of these reservists.¹

VIII

But the activity which, more than any other, drew immigrants closely together during these fateful days, was the humane work of relieving misery among their brethren in the warring countries. Nothing could have stirred the foreign-born elements to their depths as much as the news of the appalling conditions under which millions were dying by slow starvation. At first individuals and small organizations, to the best of their ability, attempted to relieve the lot of their immediate circle of relatives and friends. In the face, however, of the growing world catastrophe, these efforts, admirable though they were, appeared pitifully puny. Whole communities in the war-zones were perishing. Belgium, Poland, Servia, Palestine, Armenia, Syria were raising their famished hands, imploring food and medical aid. The numerous War Relief Committees that sprang into existence among the various immigrant groups made heroic coöperative efforts to raise funds adequate enough to meet the appalling emergency. Pole appealed to Armenian, Armenian to Pole, Slav to Latin, Latin to Slav, Jew to Gentile, and Gentile to Jew; and America appealed to all, for all. The history of war charities in the United States still remains to be written. But when completed, it will record a story of self-sacrifice, of love of kind,

¹ Witness the bill introduced by one member of Congress to deny re-entry to the United States to all foreigners leaving the country for the purpose of fighting for a European nation.

transcending all bounds of race and creed, of a magnificent outpouring of riches, such as is unparalled in the annals of humane effort.¹

IX

Sustaining this binding force of compassion for the kindred, and strengthening it at every point, was the foreign language press throughout the country. The feverish demand for news from the home-lands, the eager interest in the developing policies of the home governments stimulated a considerable increase in both the number of publications and in the total circulation.² Particularly striking was the growth of the foreign language press among the nationals of the allied countries and among the "submerged" nationalities of Austria-Hungary; while an equally significant drop was registered in the German press, especially after the entrance of the United States into the War.² That this sharp decline in the scope of activities of the German language press acted as an indirect stimulus to group consciousness among the German-speaking population can hardly be open to serious doubt.

X

Slowly, however, the national consciousness of America began to awaken in reaction to the heightened

¹ See War Relief Work, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXXIX, Sept. 1918. Part II, War Relief Work in Europe and Canada; Part IV, Civilian Relief Work of the National Red Cross; Part VI, Religious Organizations in War Relief Work; Part IX, Financing War Relief.

² See Table E, Publications in Foreign Languages (Continental U. S.), pp. 260-261.

particularism among her immigrant peoples. The inevitable result of the clash of sentiments had been, as was seen, an attitude of neutrality towards the European conflict. This was powerfully reinforced by President Wilson's famous admonition to Americans scrupulously to avoid taking sides in the controversy: "The United States must be neutral in fact as in name, during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another."¹ When, however, the more or less peaceful propaganda among the immigrant groups began to be punctuated by discoveries of illegal activities, sentiment against it developed very rapidly. Nothing contributed so much to this revulsion of feeling as the plots and intrigues engineered by the paid propagandists of the German Imperial government.² There were first, the attempts to prevent the manufacture and export of military supplies through the coercion and intimidation of German and Austro-Hungarian subjects working in munition factories, and through the persuasion of engineers and persons in the better class of positions to leave their work. Other means employed were the

¹ Appeal of President Wilson to the American People. Aug. 18, 1914, *Dept. of State, Diplomatic Correspondence, European War Series*, No. 2, p. 17.

² The statement of the illegal activities given on pages 15-17 is taken mainly from *German Plots and Intrigues in the U. S. during the Period of Our Neutrality*, a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C., July, 1918.

hiring of labor agitators who visited the munitions centers in the eastern part of the United States and caused strikes in several cities; the instigation of labor troubles in other industries by solicitation and by the dissemination of letters, circulars and newspaper articles. Attempts were made to influence members of Congress through German-American voters and their sympathizers to bring about the passage of an embargo act for military supplies. There were efforts to prevent the exportation of munitions by causing war between Mexico and the United States, the climax of the episode being the famous Zimmerman-Eckhardt telegram, proposing that in the event of Germany's war with the United States, Mexico and Japan join against America and that Mexico reconquer Texas and New Mexico. The destruction of ships was carefully planned and in numerous instances carried out by placing in the holds of steamers incendiary bombs which at a fixed time would explode and ignite the surrounding cargoes. Plots such as that to blow up the Welland Canal, the grain elevators at Fort William and, if possible the Sault St. Marie locks and railroad bridges, were hatched with the purpose of preventing Canada from giving military aid to England.

Still another aim of Germany's diplomatic officials in the United States was to send troops and munitions to the Central Empires. To achieve these ends, passports for returning reservists were forged wholesale; American citizens, protected by genuine passports, were hired to carry German dispatches and to act as spies in England; fraudulent manifests were obtained from Federal officials for ships taking coal and other sup-

plies to German warships which were raiding commerce in both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans; paroled German officers were aided in breaking their parole and getting away. Nor did the conspirators stop at breeding trouble in the United States alone. Under German leadership and financed by German money a group of Hindu plotters was planning an invasion of India from Siam. Irish revolutionists and Egyptian nationalists were, in similar fashion, encouraged to rise against England and cripple her military efficiency. Above all, the aim of the German propagandists in the United States was to prove the justice of Germany's cause and the warmth of her friendship for the American people. Funds for lecture tours, publications, subventions to periodicals, were placed liberally at the disposal of the agents from a fund of about four million dollars under the control of the German Ambassador.

Meanwhile the Federal and State governments were active in unearthing the intriguers and bringing them to justice. President Wilson, in his public utterances, was careful to draw a clear distinction between what he felt was the body of loyal Americans of foreign birth and a handful of paid agents of the German Imperial Government. These were promptly prosecuted and punished wherever the evidence was conclusive. The official heads of the propaganda machinery including the Austro-Hungarian and German Ambassadors and several attachés and financial agents, were withdrawn at the peremptory request of the American Government.

XI

But all this damning evidence, sedulously placed before the American reading public, did not yet move the United States to war. What it did accomplish, was the alienation of many who at first were somewhat inclined to be sympathetic towards Germany's cause. It, furthermore, gave material for an intensified propaganda against the "impossible hyphenate" on the part of the general press throughout the country. Patriotic societies, alarmed at the seemingly growing menace of divided allegiance, began to urge more vehemently than ever, military preparedness on the one hand, and complete Americanization of the foreign-born on the other.

XII

With the rapidly approaching presidential election in November, 1916, feeling rose feverishly high. America was facing a genuine crisis in the ensuing choice of the chief executive. The immigrant groups, the storm centre of the controversy, were sorely tried.¹ Those among the suppressed peoples of the Central Empires who thought themselves unjustly accused of disloyalty, bitterly resented the appellations "hyphen" and "un-American." They pointed to their avowed and age-long hatred of the tyrannical classes of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Protestations of patriotism in the form of loyalty meetings and resolutions were common throughout the length and breadth of the land. Even in far-away Hawaii pledges of allegiance were being

¹ For a contemporary account of pre-election events, see files of *New York Times* for October, 1916.

taken by Japanese-Americans to defend American ideals.¹ Among the German-speaking population, due to direct and indirect suppression and persecution, a profound feeling of resentment was being developed. Group ties stiffened; newspaper propaganda against the administration increased in violence. "Every vote for Wilson," wrote one German editor, "is a vote for unneutrality, partiality, and England." Threats of political retaliation began to be made openly. Accusations and counter-accusations of secret agreements with political parties filled the air.² The spectre of the "hyphen vote" was being conjured up by the overheated brains of frightened patriots, even though serious and wide-spread differences of opinion were known to exist among German-Americans themselves.³

Both of the dominant political parties in their carefully framed platforms were anxious to conciliate rather than irritate the large body of foreign-born voters, while at the same time vigorously denouncing the small groups of alien intriguers. "There is gathered here in America," so reads the plank on Americanism in the national platform of the Democratic Party, adopted at St. Louis on June 16, 1916, "the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race . . . "; while the plank on

¹ Declaration at Hilo, Hawaiian Islands, by President Arawaka of the Japanese-American Society, *American Leader*, Vol. 9, 1916, p. 265.

² Compare the Hapgood-Ridder-Hughes-Stone controversy; files of the *New York Times* for October, 1916.

³ Witness such organizations as the "Friends of German Democracy" and other organizations of liberals of German descent.

foreign relations in the national platform of the Republican Party, adopted at Chicago on June 8, 1916, contains the words: "We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents of the European war."

XIII

The stage was thus set for the presidential election, perhaps the most momentous since the election of Lincoln. Wilson, with a surprisingly small plurality was elected to office. The much dreaded "hyphen-vote" was pronounced a myth, for, contrary to expectation, most of the centres of German-American population had cast their votes against the Republican candidate.¹ The advocates of divided allegiance, whoever they were, seemed thus to have been effectively rebuked. The interest of the nation hereafter began to be absorbed by the momentous events growing out of the avowed determination of the German Imperial Government to carry on an unrestricted submarine warfare.

XIV

It is needless to recount here the circumstances that were the immediate causes of the entrance of the United States into the world war (April 6, 1917), except to point out, that in no small measure they added to the

¹ Hughes lost Milwaukee and St. Louis, and carried Cincinnati by far less than its normal Republican plurality. See files of *N. Y. Times* for post election news.

For an analysis of the so-called "hyphen vote" see *N. Y. Times Sunday Magazine*, Section V, p. 3, November 19, 1916.

growing feeling of uneasiness and suspicion with respect to the large body of foreign-born in the country. So keenly conscious were many of the immigrant leaders of the precarious position of their fellow-nationals that the foreign-language press, perhaps the most suspected of all immigrant institutions, felt it necessary to make a public declaration of absolute loyalty and allegiance to America. In a remarkable resolution addressed to the President of the United States and signed by representatives of almost four hundred foreign-language publications on May 12, 1917, they expressed themselves in the following unmistakable terms:¹

To the President of the United States.

We, the undersigned, publishers of foreign language newspapers, circulating among eighteen millions of people who have left their native lands to enjoy the blessings of citizenship in the United States, knowing full well what is in the hearts of these people, assure you, Mr. President, that they cordially welcome the opportunity now offered them, in common with their fellow-Americans, to assist the enlightened citizenship of other nations in establishing more firmly throughout the world the great principles of democracy. They

¹ Declaration of Foreign Language Newspapers. "To Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, a Declaration by the American Foreign Language Newspapers, presented by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, May 12, 1917." Among the signers were representatives of publications in the following languages: Bohemian, Slovak, Polish, Yiddish, Italian, Croatian, Swedish, French, Serbian, Slovenian, Flemish, Dutch, Syrian, Finnish, Norwegian, Danish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Roumanian, Portuguese, Japanese, Ruthenian, Chinese, Spanish, Korean.

are proud of having contributed in considerable measure to the agricultural, industrial and commercial greatness of the United States, the benefits of whose prosperity they have shared. They are anxious to show their gratitude to the land of their adoption and their complete loyalty to its government by making such sacrifices as may be properly expected at this time from all true patriots. They are willing and eager to offer themselves, according to their qualifications, for military duty, for employment in field or factory, or for other service with the object of helping as far as they can to uphold your hands in the present crisis. They will cheerfully contribute from their resources in the fullest possible measure to meet the extraordinary financial needs of the government and in all other ways will earnestly coöperate to maintain the country's honor and to insure the triumph of a cause that is destined to bring about a lasting international peace.

The declaration of war by Congress seemed to have silenced all dissenting voices. Henceforth there was only one goal for all loyal Americans, a complete and crushing victory over the arrogant German war-machine. Among the immigrants, the psychological characteristics of the pre-war period were brought into still stronger relief. Organization of "loyalty leagues" grew apace. Passage of resolutions of "unflinching loyalty to our country, the United States of America" became part of the regular order of business of every immigrant social organization.¹ Spontaneous requests

¹ An illustration of this was the resolution adopted on January 27, 1918, by the convention of the Hungarian-American Federation, assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, and presented to the President, to members of the Cabinet and both Houses of Congress.

were made by Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Jews, Armenians, to the government to organize foreign legions as distinct fighting units in the American army, while the international composition of the American expeditionary forces was pointed out as proof of the unanimity of spirit among the native and the foreign born.¹ Relief campaigns for sufferers in the war zones were inaugurated on a scale unimaginable before the War. Nor were patriotic societies,² and the government³ slow to take advantage of the rising tide of feeling among the foreign-born and to harness this dynamic sentiment to urgent national tasks that had to be carried through as pre-conditions of final victory.

XV

Simultaneously with these positive efforts to awaken and stiffen the will to fight to the bitter end, there developed a definite anti-German propaganda throughout the country.⁴ The slow, but relentless coercion of a changing public opinion manifested itself in all

¹ In a draft of 92 men from the Lower East Side of New York in May 1918, 29 nationalities were represented. *New York Times*, May 28, 1918.

² As an instance of this may be cited the loyalty meeting held by representatives of 75 nationalities in Chicago, on Feb. 8, 1918, under the auspices of the National Security League.

³ The active participation of immigrant groups in Liberty Loan campaigns, saving stamp drives, and similar activities are too well known to need detailed verification.

⁴ Among the organizations most active and most effective in this movement was the American Defense Society. Another organization of a similar character was the National Security League.

degrees of suppression. Sensitive citizens, bearing unmistakably German names not infrequently reappeared among their friends under equally unmistakable "American" names. Local communities rechristened streets and avenues, business concerns and social welfare agencies appealed to their clients and patrons in the name of the "new management." But these self-imposed metamorphoses were, after all, only superficial and mild in their effects. Much more stringent were the attempts to have Federal and State authorities revoke the charters of incorporated German-American societies; to have municipalities prohibit the sale of German papers by barring them from news stands; to persuade advertisers not to use the German language press; to prevail upon newsdealers not to sell these publications; to hold mass-meetings to stir up sentiment in favor of a press in the English language only. This hostile attitude towards the German language and German culture was clearly reflected in the action of the State and local school authorities of almost forty States of the Union. German was either banished from the curricula of many public schools and high schools by direct order of the educational authorities, or by the refusal of students to elect it as a language study where they had the option to do so. The effort was made to stimulate interest in other languages as substitutes, such as Spanish and French. Text books, magazines or newspaper publications were sedulously censored or excluded from the schools, lest they might serve as channels of insidious German propaganda. In one city the German texts were not only taken from the students but "tons of the

volumes were burned as though they were under the ban.”¹ Another community “not only put the German text books out of the schools but provided cans in the principal streets, where pupils and the public might throw all the volumes they wished to have destroyed.”¹

As the war-fever rose, serious doubts began to be expressed by many earnest citizens as to the sanity of the German people in permitting the awful carnage to go on at such a fearful cost to themselves. An enterprising student of national psychology even suggested in a letter to the editor of a metropolitan daily,² the appointment of a scientific commission to study the “German type of mind.”

“It seems to be the popular belief,” says the writer, apparently in a serious frame of mind, “that the German people are either suffering from a severe psychosis or they are radically defective. If either opinion be true, why not make an intensive study of some of the more intelligent captured prisoners, just as we do the insane in state hospitals or the criminals at Sing Sing? An expert psychologic commission for this purpose might be appointed and put to work. The interned prisoners might be so far removed from a propaganda motive as to make them rather ideal material for psychopathic study. The greater part of their mental

¹ See special article in *New York Times*, July 14, 1918, by John Walker Harrington. “German Becoming Dead Tongue Here. Schools All Over America Banishing Study of the Tongue from Courses—A Survey of their Attitude.”

² *New York Times*, April 5, 1918, letter on editorial page, “To study German minds, a commission to work with prisoners suggested.”

productions (books, pamphlets, etc.) either antedates this war or was written in the early part of the present conflict. It may be that their present ideas have undergone some change, that is, they may have lessened or increased in morbid tendencies. If so, we ought to know that, for ultimately we shall be obliged to live more or less intimately with that portion of the German people which is not destroyed utterly. It may be determined that their present mental state is not an incurable one. If we study the more hopeful individuals carefully we may be able to apply the proper training and re-education to make these survivors socially acceptable after the war is over. If, on the contrary, we find their mental state is a hopeless, atavistic type, we should know that, too, so we may properly segregate them from contaminating the rest of mankind as we do the hopelessly incurable juvenile delinquent, insane, or criminal. The findings of such an expert psychologic board might not be made public at this time, but be reserved for use when the war is over and when a rehabilitation of the German people shall be undertaken. Careful scientific studies of the German type of mind based upon actual case histories, so far as I am aware, have not been made. I believe such would be worth while, at least to guide us in instituting reform measures when peace is again maintained."

XVI

Little wonder that in the tense atmosphere of martial preparations mob violence began to show its hideous face. From tying an American flag about the neck of a disloyal German grocer, forcing him to kiss the emblem and warning him not to remove it at his

peril,¹ to hanging a German coal miner accused of inciting his fellow-workmen against the chief executive of the country, was but a short yet fatal step.² So alarming had become the unrestrained activity of the excited populace throughout the land, that President Wilson was prevailed upon to address a personal statement to the people of the United States.³ In this he alluded "to the mob spirit which has recently here and there very frequently shown its head among us, not in any single region, but in many and widely separated parts of the country." He severely condemned such acts by saying that "every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their saviour." "Every mob," he continued "contributes to German lies about the United States, what her most gifted liars cannot improve upon by way of calumny" and in an impassioned appeal he called upon "the men and women of every community of the United States, all who revere America and wish to keep her name without stain or reproach, to coöperate—not passively merely, but actively and watchfully—to make an end

¹ News item in *New York Times*, April 5, 1918, relating incident in Athens, Illinois.

² Lynching of Robert P. Praeger, at Collinsville, Illinois, April 5, 1918.

³ Statement of President Wilson on mob activity in the United States, *New York Times*, July 27, 1918.

to this disgraceful evil. It cannot live where the community does not countenance it."

XVII

Fortunately, the more thoughtful elements of the population had already set forces into motion looking towards the formulation of more fundamental measures for meeting the "foreign peril." Unreasoning dislike and hatred of everything alien was to be substituted by a comprehensive program of education, and of coöperation with the immigrant. Of special significance as pointing the way to a recognition of the national importance of the problem was the conference on Americanization called by the Secretary of the Interior and held in Washington on April 3, 1918. This conference was attended by governors and other state officers of eighteen states, representatives of state and community councils of defense, members of chambers of commerce, trade and other associations, heads of great industrial enterprises, educators, and social workers. The resolutions adopted at the conference read as follows:

1. We recommend the adoption of the policy that the Federal Government should coöperate with the States, and through the States with the local communities, in carrying on an extended, intensive, and immediate Americanization program, including education in every possible way, especially for non-English-speaking foreign-born adults.

2. That the industries employing large numbers of non-English-speaking foreign-born persons should coöperate with the local community, State and Federal governments in carrying out this proposition.

3. That adequate appropriations should be provided by the Congress to be expended through appropriate governmental agencies for the foregoing purposes.

4. That in all schools in which the elementary subjects are taught they shall be taught in the English language only.¹

XVIII

It would be idle to speculate upon the probable effects of a very long drawn out conflict upon the national mind, especially in its attitude towards the foreign-born population. This much, however, is clear: the war lasted long enough to make America painfully conscious of her peculiar problem of nationalism, but was not of long enough duration to fuse the divergent ethnic elements permanently. They were temporarily united in a single undivided loyalty; but when the spell was unexpectedly broken by the precipitate signing of the armistice in November, 1918, old-world rivalries again began to be reflected among them. Perhaps this was not strange, for did they not take their cue from their contentious brethren on the other side who were getting ready for the strenuous days of the peace conference? The Mid-European Union, composed of representatives of all the oppressed nationalities of Germany and Austria-Hungary, so

¹ See Bulletin No. 18, 1918, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Americanization as a War Measure. Report of a Conference called by the Secretary of the Interior and held in Washington, April 3, 1918.* Out of this conference and subsequent gatherings, has grown the Smith-Bankhead Bill, (S. 5464—H. R. 15402) now before Congress. For summary of Bill, see Appendix C, pp. 262-263.

auspiciously and dramatically launched in Independence Hall at Philadelphia in October 1918, soon began to crack under the strain of opposing nationalist claims. Poles and Ukrainians, Italians and Jugo-Slavs, became less inclined to act together in the spirit of the "Declaration of Independence" they had all signed, pledging "that they will unitedly strive to the end that these wrongs should be righted, that the sufferings of the world war shall not have been in vain."¹ Syrian disputed the right of Zionist to the home-land of Palestine.² Hungarian protested against the dismemberment of his ancient realm by Slovak and Roumanian. Pole was bitterly denounced by Jew for alleged anti-semitic pogroms in "free" Poland.³

It is thus open to reasonable doubt if the end of the Great War found the immigrant groups in America more homogeneous in sentiment than they were at its beginning. Indeed, it is more than probable that group consciousness among them was more intense, owing to the unrest occasioned by the uncertainty of the settlements of peace and the wide-spread preparations for returning to the home-lands after the peace conference.⁴

¹ See *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, and November 8, 1918.

² See *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1918. Resolution passed by a meeting of Syrians in Brooklyn, N. Y., protesting against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

³ See *New York Times*, November 29, 1918.

⁴ See *New York Times*, October 1, 1917. Interview with Commissioner of Immigration, Frederick C. Howe, on "Immigration after the War." Also pamphlet by Dr. D. Moldron, a Rumanian newspaper editor, *Where Will Be Your Home? An Appeal and Warning to Every Immigrant in America*, December 1917.

XIX

Impressionistic as has been this picture of the mental crisis through which America passed in the fateful days between July, 1914, and November, 1918, it is sufficiently distinct to reveal the most significant meaning of the experience to the nation. The striking feature of the recrudescence of the nationalistic spirit in this country was its suddenness and its spontaneity. Unprecedented events, it is true, artificially stimulated it. Its spontaneity, however, gave proof that it existed unknown to the consciousness of the American people as a whole, and that only the proper occasion was needed to fan it into a flame. The significance of the crisis was that it revealed in a profoundly impressive manner the true nature of America's common life.

XX

Nevertheless, long before the outbreak of the European War this difficulty was gradually coming to a head. America, sooner or later, would have to face fearlessly the problem of its polyglot peoples and cultures. Forces were thus already at work trying to formulate a solution of the question. Publicists and students of race problems had begun the discussion in a more or less tentative spirit of speculation.¹ Social settlements,

¹ Among numerous articles the following may serve as illustrations:

a. G. Michaud and F. H. Giddings, *Coming Race in America*, *Century Magazine*, March, 1903, Vol. 65, pp. 683-692.

b. F. H. Giddings, *The American People*, *The International Quarterly*, Vol. 7, Number 2, June 1903.

c. M. Fishberg, *Ethnic Factors in Immigration*, *Proceedings of*

pioneers in Americanization work, had for years been testing and retesting their "laboratory methods" of assimilation.¹ A bewildering variety of communal agencies was springing up to meet the special needs of the immigrant.² The rise of the social and community centre movement in large cities heralded the coming of a period of clearer and more sympathetic insight into the life of the foreign-born.³ Nor were these far-sighted private individuals and organizations to remain alone in their pioneering. Recognition of the seriousness of the immigration problem led to the appointment of a federal immigration commission in 1907, which four years later issued its comprehensive report of more than forty volumes.

XXI

But throughout all these efforts, only a few grasped unmistakably the basic issue involved. This issue

National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1906, pp. 304-314.

d. Wm. Z. Ripley. The European Population of the U. S., *The Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1908*. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1908.

e. A. Alleman, *Immigration and the Future American Race*, *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, December, 1909, Vol. 5, pp. 586-596.

¹ See for example, Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, or Lillian Wald, *The House on Henry Street*.

² See Chapter III, *Immigrant Community Life and Organization*, pp. 60-84.

³ See General Announcement for 1915-16 of the New York Training School for Community Centre Workers, p. 4: "The community centre reaches the immigrant, and aids in conserv-

was two-fold: in view of the heterogeneity of peoples and cultures in America, how was the future American civilization to be conceived? Was the national ideal to be redefined? On the other hand, if clear and courageous thinking inevitably pointed in that direction, how could the national life as a whole be consciously directed towards the realization of this newer ideal, and in what way could it be achieved through the agency of the most democratic forms of social self-control?

ing his social tradition, in assimilating him not merely as an individual, but as a group with background ideals and cultural values which are needed by the American commonwealth."

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION: AN ECONOMIC OR A CULTURAL PROBLEM?

I

Nothing contributed so much to lack of insight into the seriousness of the task facing America, as the general public indifference to the problem of immigration during the two decades before the European War. The incoming millions were, without great difficulty, absorbed into the rapidly expanding economic life of the country. But few persons apparently knew or cared much about the attendant evils, which, like the accumulating fatigue products in over-active muscles, were beginning to clog the arteries of the national body. Congestion, unsanitary housing, industrial exploitation, undue strain upon educational facilities for children and adults, were certainly increasing more rapidly than the number of effective social measures calculated to remedy them. Completely absorbed in business, the public mind would not be diverted to a thorough-going consideration of the immigrant question. Little heed was given to the pleas of well-informed students who saw in it the basic national concern, and who urged the adoption of some consistent public policy founded on exact knowledge. America, true to her traditions, kept the gates wide open for

all who wished to come and who were vigorous enough in mind and in body to add to the wealth of the land. Utterly foreign to current thought upon the problem of immigration was the need for re-analyzing it into its essential elements, and still more remote was the effort of consciously restating the national ideal or deliberately moulding the national life in accordance with it.

II

And yet today it is obvious that the first step in the direction of an intelligent public policy for immigration is a careful re-examination of the whole question. To marshal in the time-honored way the pro's and con's of restriction or liberal admission of aliens can no longer be satisfactory. For all these inviting logical structures may be reared upon the shifting sands of untenable assumptions. The real need is to subject these pre-suppositions to searching analysis. This would appear to be all the more urgent, in face of the bewildering forecasts of immigration to the United States in the years following the formal close of the Great War. If, as some fear, America is to be inundated by vast hordes of famished Europeans seeking the blessings of freedom and peace, surely a humanely intelligent public policy is essential to control the flood. America cannot—and will not—shut out permanently all who seek other and better opportunities or who wish to settle down again far away from the horrors of war. But neither can she admit indiscriminately unnumbered millions during a critical period of reconstruction. Her international rights no less than her inter-

national moral obligations in this matter would not permit her to do otherwise. Suppose, on the other hand, the current begins to flow in the opposite direction, as is quite likely to be the case, at any rate for a considerable period of time; then the task of incorporating the remnant of the foreign-born into the national life becomes correspondingly simpler and easier, but none the less urgent. The problem changes quantitatively, to be sure, but qualitatively it remains the same. Under these conditions, to fail to work at it intensively and with all the ingenuity that the best thought of the country can supply, would be to miss an opportunity such as may never come again. The course of true statesmanship would seem to be to formulate a far-sighted plan of genuine incorporation of the alien groups and systematically carry it into effect. As it is, America is prepared for neither emergency. Confusion of thought, or dogmatism, or good-natured, breezy ignorance is what most persons have to bring to the discussion.

III

What are some of the vantage points from which this vital national question is being viewed? To dissect popular misconceptions, palpably prejudiced because of lack of information, would hardly be worth the effort. It is the more reasoned, the more scientific, views that ought to invite critical thought. Of these, two are sufficiently current and sufficiently distinct from each other to lend themselves to such analysis. The first is the position of the economist who maintains that immigration is primarily and essentially

an economic problem. The second is the view of the sociologist, namely, that immigration is above all, a racial and cultural question.

IV

The economist reasons somewhat as follows: the vast majority of immigrants come to this country to improve their economic condition. Their standard of living is different from, in many cases lower than, the standard of the American workman and his family. A constant influx of these new labor forces threatens to undermine the American standard of living, or if not to undermine it, at least to keep it from rising.¹ Therefore, if the problem of immigration is really to be understood and effective legislation framed for its solution, the dominating thoughts must be "economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people."² Even those

¹ H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 393. Also W. F. Willcox, *The American Economic Review*, Supplement, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1912, p. 71: Discussion on H. P. Fairchild's paper, The Restriction of Immigration: "The one serious objection to present immigration is its menace to American standards of wages and of living."

² *Reports of the Immigration Commission of 1911*, Vol. I, p. 45. Recommendations. Also H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 391, who, after a detailed analysis of all "positive arguments" against immigration, concludes; "There remains by far the greatest and most universal argument for immigration—the economic one." Prof. Fairchild groups the arguments under eight main heads: (1) the numbers argument; (2) the distribution argument, both of which he dismisses as no real arguments; (3) the standard living or wages argument, which he recognizes as, on the whole, valid and most important; (4) the pauperism and crime argument; (5) the

economists who do not admit the disastrous effects of immigration upon the economic life of the country, still maintain that it is the labor aspect of the question which is and ought to be paramount. These students claim that the economic development of the United States is due very largely, if not wholly, to immigration; that a shutting off of the stream of labor forces would be harmful to the further industrial evolution of the country; that, far from discouraging immigration, it ought to be encouraged, provided ways be found to distribute it where it is really needed. "The most valuable contribution of the Immigration Commission," writes a keen critic of restrictionist policy,¹ "to the discussion of immigration is the conclusion that it should be considered, 'primarily as an economic problem.' This statement of the question takes it out of the domain of conflicting, more or less speculative social theories and permits of its consideration on the solid basis of measurable economic realities." He points out, that of the forty-two volumes of the Commission's report, thirty-one contain primary facts directly or indirectly related to the economic aspects of immigration. Despite the fact that he disagrees with almost every important conclusion of the Commission, he yet thinks of immigration as essentially in the domain of economics. Thus, he holds that immigra-

stimulation argument; (6) the illegal entrance argument; (the last three being in his opinion slight); (7) the biologic argument, which is "vague" and "doubtful"; (8) the assimilation argument "which is made to include as indeed, it rightfully does in a sense, all the other arguments against immigration."

¹ I. A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, Ch. II, p. 48.

tion has not increased the rate of unemployment, but varies inversely with it; that the effect of immigration has not been racial displacement but the evolution of an English speaking aristocracy of labor; that recent immigration had only covered the shortage of labor resulting from the excess of the demand over the domestic supply; that the standard of living of the recent immigrant is not inferior to that of his predecessors, and that the higher standard of the American workman is maintained with the aid of his children's wages; that there was a reduction of child labor in states with a large immigrant population; that there was a reduction of the workday; that work accidents were not the result of immigration; that union membership was rising and falling with the rise and fall of immigration; that there was organization among the unskilled; and so on with many other objections to immigration on economic grounds. After an exhaustive analysis, he concludes that there is no specific immigration problem. "There is a general labor problem which comprises many special problems, such as organization of labor, reduction of hours of labor, child labor, unemployment, prevention of work accidents, etc."¹

¹ I. A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, Summary Review, pp. 34-35.

The fancy, too, of the poet idealizes the immigrant as a labor asset in these words:

THE IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTION

I am the immigrant.

Since the dawn of creation my restless feet have beaten new paths across the earth.

My uneasy bark has tossed on all seas.

V

Quite another view is taken by some leading sociologists and biologists. The "new" immigration as contrasted with the "old," they urge, represents a distinctly different set of racial and cultural elements. The older groups were predominantly of the Baltic

My wanderlust was born of the craving for more liberty and a better wage for the sweat of my face.

I looked towards the United States with eager eyes kindled by the fire of ambition and heart quickened with new-born hope.

I approached its gates with great expectation.

I entered in with fine hope.

I have shouldered my burden as the American man-of-all-work.

I contribute 85 per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat packing industries.

I do 7/10ths of the bituminous coal mining.

I do 7/8 of all the work in the woolen mills.

I contribute 9/10ths of all the labor in the cotton mills.

I make 19/20ths of all the clothing.

I manufacture more than half of the shoes.

I build 4/5ths of all the furniture.

I make half of the collars, cuffs and shirts.

I turn out 4/5ths of all the leather.

I make half the gloves.

I refine nearly 19/20ths of the sugar.

I make half of the tobacco and cigars.

And yet I am the great American Problem.

When I pour out my blood on your altar of labor, and lay down my life as a sacrifice to your God of Toil, men make no more comment than at the fall of a sparrow.

My children shall be your children, and your land shall be my land because my sweat and my blood will cement the foundations of the America of Tomorrow.

If I can be fused into the body politic, the melting pot will have stood the supreme test.—*The Survey*, May 25th, 1918.

or Nordic race and Anglo-Saxon in culture, while the newcomers are overwhelmingly Slavic, Semitic, and Mediterranean. They tend to mass in separate foreign colonies, especially in the heart of the great industrial and commercial centers of America. The life in these colonies is in many respects almost self-sufficient. The immigrant, with newspapers printed in his own language, with his own churches or synagogues, his own social organizations, his own trading places, his own old-world political interests, tends to remain indifferent to the great, homogeneous American current. Racial and cultural differences are thus kept alive and constitute a perennial danger to the solidarity of the national mind. Illiteracy, yellow journalism, peonage, cast spirit, low position of women, prostitution, congestion, pauperism, juvenile delinquency, separatist schools, "dirty" politics, are among the glaring evils arising from the over-population of the land by these undesirable newcomers. A brilliant exponent of this view is Professor Edward A. Ross.¹ "The plain truth is" he writes, "that rarely does an immigrant bring in his intellectual baggage anything of use to us. The music of Mascagni and Debussy, the plays of Ibsen and Maeterlinck, the poetry of Rostand and Hauptmann, the fiction of Jokai and Sienkiewicz, were not brought to us by way of Ellis Island." But condemnations of the Eastern and South European immigrant are not limited to scintillating emotional outbursts. The

¹ Compare his book *The Old World in the New*, p. 279 and p. 285. A somewhat similar evaluation is that of Dr. C. B. Davenport, in *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, Chapt. V, Migrations and Their Eugenic Significance, pp. 212-220.

calm, dispassionate science of statistics is called in to aid in the measurement of the relative social worth of these unwelcome guests. Thus, according to the calculations of one sociologist,¹ the consecutive order of ten ethnic varieties in the United States according to their "mean rating" in all of ten selected personal traits, is as follows: 1. Native White Americans. 2. Germans. 3. English. 4. Polish and Russian Hebrews. 5. Scandinavians. 6. Irish. 7. French Canadians. 8. Austrian Slavs. 9. South Italians. 10. Negroes. The ratings are based upon the judgments of ten competent observers, among whom were sociologists, psychologists, journalists and social workers. The personal traits chosen were: physical vigor, intellectual ability, self-control, moral integrity, sympathy, coöperation, leadership, perseverance, efficiency, aspiration. He finds that "the Irish, Jews and native Americans appear to vary considerably in excellence, but the repeated low ranking of Negroes, Italians, Slavs, and French Canadians is remarkable. It may be said that Anglo-Saxon prejudice here prevails and it must be admitted that Negroes, Slavs or Latins were not represented in our list of observers. However, since American standards of judgment have been derived mainly from English and Teutonic sources, this order probably represents the relative conformity to our notions of excellence." He goes on to explain that "for instance, it is useful to know that according to these ratings the social potential of the population of New York City in 1910 was lower than that of Chicago,

¹ H. B. Woolston. Rating the Nations, *American Journal of Sociology*, July-May, 1916-1917, pp. 281-390.

the mean positions being 3.85 and 3.60 respectively, and that both were lower than they were ten years previously, when they were 3.67 and 3.46. These statements indicate the effects of recent immigration."

If now these new immigrants begin to fuse with the old, the original stock will be diluted by having "sub-common" blood injected into its veins. The resulting race, being by heredity inferior to the old, will be culturally sterile. Considerations of cheap labor and rapid development of natural resources are then temporary and insignificant phases of the problem when compared with the possible biologic consequences.¹

¹ Edwin G. Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 434-435. See also Charles A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Problems*, Ch. X. The Immigration Problem, p. 219, and Chas. B. Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, Ch. V, Migrations and their Eugenic Significance, p. 221. In discussing the feasibility of keeping out undesirable immigrants, that is, those of "bad blood" and admitting desirable immigrants, that is, those of "good blood," Dr. Davenport believes that the attempt to do this by examination of the immigrant is "as unscientific as it is inadequate." "Nor can the immigration problem be solved by excluding on the ground of race or native country. No one has suggested excluding the natives of Switzerland; yet a normal woman from the neighborhood of Tenna, Canton Graubunden may become a focus of hemophilia in this country. On the other hand, the exclusion of one Hungarian family of my acquaintance would have deprived American universities of three of their best scientific professors. The fact is that no race, *per se*, whether Slovak, Ruthenian, Turk or Chinese, is dangerous and none undesirable, but only those individuals whose somatic traits or germinal determiners, are from the standpoint of our social life, bad." P. 222. It is hard to see, however, how the plan which Dr. Davenport proposes for the selection of "good blood" would accomplish the purpose he has in view. He suggests that before a person is admitted to citizenship something be learned

The serious accusation is even made that "the latter-day employer resembles the old time planter in his blindness to the effects of his labor policy upon the blood of the nation."¹ The problem of immigration will therefore not be satisfactorily solved unless it is clearly understood that at bottom it is a struggle between an older superior racial group and culture, and

about his family history and his personal history on the other side of the ocean. This, he calculates, could be done by means of field workers at an approximate cost of a half million dollars a year, assuming that about 200,000 declarations of intention to become naturalized are filed annually in the United States. Now, if after an investigation in the native country, an applicant is not admitted to citizenship, he may nevertheless marry in this country. Unless he is either forbidden to marry or is deported (neither of which is very practicable) the inquiry into his antecedents is obviously of little value. Dr. Davenport, nevertheless, feels that "despite the tendency encouraged in immigration to bring in a less independent and self-reliant class, a significant selection is still exercised."

A suggestion that more nearly meets the objection raised is that of G. Michaud, in an article, *What Shall We Be?* *The Century Magazine*, March 1903, pp. 689-690. ". . . the immigration inspectors should not only be conversant with the language, customs, geography, history, literature and art of one of the European countries which sends us immigrants, but they should, moreover, perform their work in that particular country. . . . Prospective immigrants ought to apply to immigration inspectors in their own respective countries for a license to enter the United States. . . . Finally, to be thoroughly efficient the selective process should not be of an entirely negative character. Trusting in chance alone to prevent us from becoming a nation of honest nobodies is not a wise policy. Whenever a needy person, intending to emigrate, could make it clear to our inspectors in his country that he has somehow and somewhat distinguished himself in the field of science, literature or art, he should be given a free passage to this country."

¹ E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 287.

newer inferior racial groups and cultures, and that heroic measures must speedily be adopted to secure the supremacy of the former.¹

¹ The following extracts from *Expansion of Races* by Dr. Charles E. Woodruff, are exaggerated expressions of this view. On page 389, he writes: "Hordes of illiterates, 'scum of Europe,' 'paupers,' Hebrews, Poles, Slovaks, Croatians, Magyars, Italians, Syrians, who cannot understand the Aryan democracy, have never been able to resist Aryans, have waxed numerous in the high civilization built up by Aryans for thousands of years and have always been commensal organisms." He continues on p. 390: "Hence the growing distrust of the immigrant is the realization by *the people* that the body politic is sick. They have not made the exact diagnosis yet, but they will soon. The political microscope will be adjusted and they will find that instead of the healthy, normal Aryan tissue harboring few commensal, healthy, Semitic, Hamitic and Turanian organisms, it is swarming with them. The toxins produced by the parasites are causing the symptoms. Some of the parasites have grown large, fat and rich and powerful and bid fair to make the host very sick. Things always have to get worse before they get better. A sick man never calls a doctor at first; he waits until he is worse. The body politic will not call a doctor until it is sure it cannot "throw off" its disease without paying for medicine. It sometimes succeeds—indeed generally does—but often it becomes very sick and has to take the medicines made necessary by ignorance and violation of natural law."

Or, again, with ~~w~~^{er}withering sarcasm, Professor Ross prophesies an ignominious end for the "American pioneering breed" in the following words: "Already America has ceased to allure, as of yore, the British, the Germans and the Scandinavians; but it strongly attracts the Italians, Greeks and Slavs. By 1930, perhaps, the opportunities left will have ceased to interest them, but no doubt, the Khivans, the Bokhariots, the Persians and the Afghans will regard this as the Promised Land. By 1950, even they will scorn the chances here, but then, perhaps the coolies from overpopulated India will be glad to take an American wage. But by

VI

To the unbiased mind both the economic and the racial-cultural view of immigration, doubtless contain many elements of truth. Nevertheless, grave objections can and must be raised against them by the critical student. In the first place, both views are one-sided, each emphasizing one phase of the problem to the exclusion of all others. This, alone would make one hesitate to accept either unreservedly, for a truly organic view of group life at once precludes such a detached and delimited interpretation of the problem. Thus, for example, no hint is given of the relation between the economic and the cultural aspects. The fallacy consists in mistaking the immediacy or urgency of one aspect (the economic or the cultural, as the case may be) for the totality of the problem. Both views, furthermore, may be described as static. The economist who is concerned about the safe-guarding of the American standard of living, implies and often ex-

the last quarter of this century there will remain possibly no people in the world that will care for the chances left in America. Then, when immigration has ceased of itself, when the dogma of the sacred right of immigration has wrought its perfect work, and when the blood of the old pioneering breed has faded out of the motley, polyglot, polychrome, caste-riven population that will crowd this continent to a Chinese density, let there be reared a commemorative monument bearing these words:

To the American Pioneering Breed
The Victim of Too Much Humanitarianism and
Too Little Common Sense."

The American Econ. Review Supplement, Vol. II, No. 1, March, 1912, p. 37. Significance of Emigration, Discussion.

plicitly asserts, that it is this standard which must be preserved and to which the newcomer must adjust his own. The socio-biologist who is fearful of the submergence of the old American racial and cultural type also tacitly or expressly assumes that it is these which must, at any cost, be conserved, even though a careful reading of American history might easily convince him that ever since the creation of the American state the population has been thoroughly composite. "If we have regard not to New England and Virginia alone," writes Professor Giddings,¹ "but the entire area of the United States, there has never been a time since the Constitution was adopted when our population has not been composite. In the colonial period the Dutch had settled New Amsterdam, the Swedes had come to New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, the French Huguenots to the Carolinas, the Germans to Pennsylvania and the Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania and the valleys leading southward through Virginia to Carolina and Georgia. In the North West Territory there were many descendants of the French colonists, others were added to the American people by the Louisiana purchase, while the acquisition of Florida, Texas, New Mexico and California brought in a Spanish element, most of which, however, presently disappeared into Mexico and Cuba.

"It thus appears that the popular notion that the American people were at one time of almost purely English blood which has since 1820 been suffering dilution through foreign immigration, has never been quite true to fact."

¹ See F. H. Giddings, *The American People. The International Quarterly*, June, 1903, Vol. VII, p. 285.

With the idea of the fixity of the American racial and cultural type generally goes the notion of superiority of these earlier American social values. Without probing too much into the social heritages of the new-settlers, it is taken for granted that they bring along inferior goods in their spiritual baggage.

VII

The economist, it must be conceded, has a firmer footing in facts than his fellow-critic. "Measurable economic realities," inadequate though they be as a *full* measure of the situation, are surer guides, by far, than brilliant, daring, but unfortunately misleading generalizations of the racial and cultural worth of a people. How precarious is such an undertaking is convincingly set forth by a keen Frenchman in these words:¹

The life of peoples and the mass of their aspirations are so complex that in the impossibility of embracing them all, every observer attaches himself in particular to the sides which most strike his imagination. In the sympathetic or unsympathetic portrait of a people it is the individuality of the artist rather than that of his models which appears to view. When hatred or infatuation, entering into party spirit, darken the clear vision of the author, we have before us only false or caricatured images. What increases the difficulties is the incredible quantity of data which this science

¹ Jean Finot. *Race Prejudice*, Part III, Anthro-Psychology and Anthro-Sociology. Chapter I, The Failure of the Psychology of Peoples.

has to make use of in giving more or less hazardous verdicts. Its conclusions touch all spheres of the abstract and concrete life of a people, so that the person who formulates them must have an "innumerable heart" and in his brain an unfathomable spring of knowledge. In beginning with the mathematical sciences and ending with history, linguistics and literature, he must be familiar with everything. Inasmuch as the soul of a people manifests itself as much in its actions as in its ideal aspirations, he who would judge it must know how to hear and comprehend the least perceptible beatings of its heart. He must know its intellectual treasures, its arts and its poetry, its crimes and its virtues, the visible actions of its politics and its invisible tendencies, its social and private ethics, the extent of its altruistic sentiments and also the force of its egoism. Moreover, it would be enough to let a few errors slip into this vast work in order to derange its mechanism and annul its value.

The coryphies of this fatalistic psychology console themselves with the thought that their large frescoes are so much the more true to life in that they leave many details in semi-obscurity in order to place the essential traits in full light. But they appear to forget that the essential traits are only the result of these manifold details. Before fixing a label on the soul of a people one must know exactly the machinery of its working.

If, then, it appears to be well nigh impossible to give an accurate descriptive picture of group character, how much more difficult and unprofitable still must it be to confine this many-sided, elusive "soul" of a people within the narrow limits of statistical indices!

VIII

Neither the economic nor the racial-cultural version of the immigration problem, can, therefore, be the sole and secure basis of a comprehensive plan for conscious nation-building in the new America. They must be united in a *synthetic* view that will at once be broad and sane. Such a view will be compounded of these essential elements: the problem of immigration has various aspects, among which the economic and the racial-cultural are most important. In the first stage of the consideration of the question, the economic phase is most urgent and therefore tends to overshadow all others. But because, for the time being, it occupies the center of public attention, critical students must not be misled into believing that this phase constitutes the sum and substance of the problem. Matters bearing upon the means of getting a livelihood always strike nearest home and it is peculiarly tempting to identify them with all the other, often equally pressing phases of the situation. All the valid criticisms of the economic interpretation of history apply to the economic interpretation of immigration. In the second stage, the significance of the cultural phase gradually emerges and tends to dominate the thought of student and of legislator. The immigrant comes to be looked upon as something more than a mere labor unit. He and his group are recognized as having a distinct individuality, as possessing a cultural background different from that of the native-born. This social heritage presumably has elements worth while incorporating into the life of the country. The third

stage marks the attempt to see the economic and cultural phases in relation to each other and treat them (as they indeed are) as parts of a single problem.

The synthetic view implies further, the concept of an evolving, rather than of a static American standard of living and culture. In this evolution the new-comers are playing their part and contributing their share.¹ This necessarily rejects the idea of the absolute superiority of the old stock and culture and admits the possible value for American life of the contributions of the immigrants. True, both groups of critics, especially the socio-biologists, agree that if the new-comers *could* make distinctive additions to the culture of America, it would be so much the better for both. But, as yet, the immigrants have not done so.² It is here that the synthetic view reveals the

¹ This would seem to be true whether the standard of living be conceived as the "absolute" or the "efficient" standard. A clear discussion of these basic notions can be found in *The Standard of Living in Japan*, Kokichi Morimoto, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXXVI, No. I, pp. 16-18. P. 16: "The mode and scale of activities adjusted to these wants (food, shelter and clothing) will be termed the 'absolute' standard of living. This is the lowest possible standard of living for human existence." The "efficient" standard of living is defined on p. 18 as "the mode and scale of activities adjusted to wants for necessity, decency and comfort in any particular society at any time or in any place." On p. 18 again: "This standard requires as essential elements, food, clothing, housing, lighting and heating, education, society, charity and religion, health, recreation and saving (insurance)."

² ". . . if, as we believe, the record of their achievements shows, a large part of the immigration is on the average inferior to the older population of the United States, such are eugenically a

relation between the two phases of the problem. It may be correct to say that the new-comers have not yet made striking contributions. So intimately, however, are the economic and cultural aspects of group life bound up with each other, that as long as the economic basis of the life of the newcomers is either insecure or inadequate, so long genuine cultural contributions can hardly be expected of them. Where there is little or no leisure, there is little or no higher culture. In other words, it is not necessarily the supposed inherent incapacity of the immigrants for culture-building that explains the paucity of their achievements in the new land. It may well be that the forces of the new environment are even more potent in preventing the foreign-born from spontaneous creation of culture values.

IX

This view of the matter is the outcome not merely of logical deduction, but it finds much support in well-established facts. Ward makes the exhaustive researches of Odin the statistical basis of his claim that opportunity is the *sine qua non* of the full unfolding of genius or talent or merit of any sort.¹

detriment to the future progress of the race. The direct biological result to be expected from the assimilation of such newcomers is the swamping of the best characteristics of the old American stock, and a diminution of the average intelligence of the whole country." Paul Popenoe and R. H. Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, Chapt. XV, Immigration, p. 304.

¹ See L. F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, Chapt. VII, Intellectual Egalitarianism; also the chapters on The Economic Environment, pp. 198-204; The Social Environment, pp. 204-208; The

By opportunity in the broad sense, Ward means "every form of social adjustment that sets free and sets to work the psychic forces of man,"¹ or the two principal forms of opportunity "leisure and education."² More specifically, he sums up the factors which make for the production of the "agents of civilization," as³

(1) Centres of population containing special intellectual stimuli and facilities.

(2) Ample material means insuring freedom from care, economic security, leisure and the wherewithal to supply the apparatus of research.

(3) A social position such as is capable of producing a sense of self-respect, dignity and reserve power which alone can inspire confidence in one's worth and in one's right to enter the lists for the great prizes of life.

(4) Careful and prolonged intellectual training during youth, whereby all the fields of achievement become familiar and a choice of them is possible in harmony with intellectual proclivities and tastes.

How many of these factors are operative in the lives of the recent immigrants in America and in the lives of their immediate descendants, and to what degree are these forces at work among them? It would be wise to inquire into these pertinent questions rather than Educational Environment, pp. 211-221. Odin's work which forms the factual basis of his discussion is *Genèse des Grands Hommes, Gens de Lettres Français Modernes*.

¹ L. F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, p. 130. See also Chas. H. Cooley, Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races, *Annals of the Amer. Acad. Pol. and Social Science*, Vol. IX, May 1897, pp. 317-358.

² *Applied Sociology*, p. 224.

³ *Applied Sociology*, Chapt. X, The Logic of Opportunity, p. 224.

nutely before consigning any or all of the recent settlers to the scrap-heap of cultural sterility.

X

But had these fragmentary outlooks upon the immigration problem been confined to the sphere of harmless academic discussion, it would simply have betokened a cramped intellectual horizon to be expanded by the sheer force of the logic of the new situation. But, consciously or unconsciously, these views (the economic and the racial-cultural) were reflected and are even now reflected in legislation affecting immigrants before and after their entry into the United States.¹ The emphasis upon the economic fitness of the incoming alien is embodied in clauses prescribing a head tax, forbidding the importation of contract laborers, excluding persons with physical defects which may affect their ability to earn a living, regulating the receipt of bonds or guaranties that the immigrant shall not become a public charge. Provision is also made, for his protection after landing, from fraud and loss, and for "a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several states and territories desiring immigration,"² though the latter provision is given much scantier attention in actual administration than its far-reaching

¹ See *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 39, Immigration Legislation. Appendix A, Synopsis of Immigration and Contract Labor Laws, 1875-1907. See also Act of Feb. 5, 1917, Bulletin on Immigration Laws, Rules of May 1, 1917, *U. S. Dept of Labor, Bureau of Immigration*.

² Act of February 5th, 1917, Sections 29 and 30.

importance would warrant. These, together with a mass of prescriptions for the administration of the acts, constitute the major portion of every immigration law, down to the act of 1917.

To a lesser degree the racial-cultural view has influenced the law-makers. This attitude, as yet mainly negative, is registered in the clauses for the exclusion of idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded and insane persons, paupers, persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, the exclusion of aliens who are natives of specified islands and territory of the continent of Asia (particularly the Chinese).¹ An attempt to reach out for some cultural standards is evident in the literacy test.² Plans for the preferential treatment of racial groups have not as yet been sufficiently elaborated. But even if they were, it is open to some doubt if they would commend themselves to public policy.³

¹ For map showing excluded Asiatic Zone prescribed in Sec. 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, see Bulletin on Immigration Laws, Rules of May 1, 1917, *U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Immigration* (Map facing page 32.)

² Act of Feb. 5, 1917, Sec. 3.

³ A significant attempt in this direction is the proposed percentage plan of regulation of immigration, tentatively drafted by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick for the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation. The proposal is that "the number of alien persons belonging to a people or mother-tongue group who may be admitted to the U. S., including Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico, during any one fiscal year, shall be determined, according to the following general rule, by the Immigration Commission. The admissible number shall not be less than five nor more than fifteen per cent (or possibly not less than three nor more than ten per cent) of a basic figure, to be composed of: (A) The number of American

XI

Immigration legislation, then, has thus far concerned itself mainly with *selection*, the first of the three constituent parts of a well-rounded immigration policy. However, the process of selection has been essentially negative, that is, it was the *exclusion* of certain undesirable population elements that was aimed at rather than the deliberate choice of the most

born children of that people or mother-tongue group as recorded in the U. S. Census of 1920, plus, (B) the number of naturalized aliens of that people or mother-tongue group as recorded in the last available census, and also, plus, (C) The number of aliens of that people or mother-tongue group naturalized since that census, as reported by the Chief of the Bureau of Naturalization. If the basic figure for any people or mother-tongue group shall be found to be less than twenty thousand, the number admissible each year of that people or mother-tongue group shall be one thousand." The term "people or mother-tongue group" is to be defined and interpreted by the Immigration Commission to be created by the Act. The Immigration Commission would have power for the purpose of enforcing this statute, to classify as a single people, all the citizens of a given nation or all persons living within a given geographical area. Where such a classification is applied to a group which contains among its numbers persons speaking different mother-tongues it is proposed that the Commission deduct from the total permissible immigration of those classified by a given mother-tongue classification, the number speaking that mother-tongue which has been made eligible for admission by virtue of citizenship in a nation or residence in a specified geographical area; and the number of arriving immigrants of a given mother-tongue, citizens of such nation or native to such a geographical area, are not to be taken into account in determining whether the admissible immigration from that mother-tongue group has been admitted in the given year. See also Sidney L. Gulick, *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship*, Chapt. 8.

desirable persons. Once those in the incoming flood are separated out who are palpably defective, either physically or mentally or morally, the rest are permitted to enter indiscriminately. As for *distribution*, the second part in a comprehensive public policy dealing with immigrants, only very recently have provisions been included in the law foreshadowing an increased interest in this aspect of the question.¹ Apart from some meager, though promising beginnings, made by the

¹ See Section 30 of Act of February 5, 1917. "That there shall be maintained a division of information in the Bureau of Immigration; and the Secretary of Labor shall provide such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary. It shall be the duty of said division to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States, among the several States and Territories desiring immigration. Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, and physical characteristics of each State and Territory, and shall publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same. Where any State or Territory appoints and maintains an agent or agents to represent it at any of the immigrant stations of the United States, such agents shall, under regulations prescribed by the Commissioner General of Immigration, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Labor, have access to aliens that have been admitted to the United States for the purpose of presenting either orally or in writing the special inducements offered by such State or Territory to aliens to settle therein. While on duty at any immigrant station such agents shall be subject to all the regulations prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, who, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may, for violation of any such regulations deny to the agent guilty of such violation any of the privileges herein granted."

Federal Government in this direction, the whole problem of distribution is yet to be scientifically studied and feasible plans formulated.¹ But the third and final link in the chain, the *incorporation* of the immigrant groups into America, is yet to be forged. To withstand the incessant wear and tear of a strenuous democratic life, this link must be wrought out of sterner stuff than can ever be furnished by perfunctory naturalization, and colorless teaching of English and Civics—the traditional methods of “assimilating” the foreigner. No matter how careful has been the selection or how skillful the distribution, unless the immigrants are fitted into the new environment with the maximum benefit to their adopted country and to themselves, they have not become truly incorporated.

In a comprehensive immigration law, then, framed with the *synthetic* view of the problem in mind, all three policies, *selection*, *distribution* and *incorporation*, would find a legitimate and logical place. Moreover, selection and distribution would be conceived simply as prerequisites to genuine incorporation. Then, could

¹ At the suggestion of the writer, the proposed Immigration Act prepared by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation provides in Section 4d, “that the Immigration Commission, immediately upon its organization shall institute a comprehensive inquiry into policies and methods of the distribution of immigration; that the Immigration Commission shall publish the results of the investigation in full, not later than two years from the beginning of the inquiry; that the Immigration Commission be empowered to carry on all further educational work necessary to bring the approved results of the investigation effectively before the public.”

America but clear her thoughts upon what this genuine incorporation really involves and what it demands of the foreigner and of the native-born both, much of her anxious care about the future would be resolved into a new hope for a better day.

CHAPTER III

IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY LIFE AND ORGANIZATION

I

Lack of clear, comprehensive and far-sighted thinking has been the chief obstacle in the way of America's mastering the immigration problem. The truth is that *it* has mastered America. A one-sided interpretation of the question now exclusively economic, now exclusively racial-cultural, has produced a national policy at once illogical and ineffective.

But rooted in this ill-balanced view is another error which has cost the nation dear and which in a synthetic outlook would find no fitting place—an error that for three decades has vitiated most efforts at incorporation of the immigrant into the life of America. More pathetic figures cannot be found than the host of pioneer Americanization workers during this period (whether they be brave teachers of English and civics in an uninviting evening school or self-forgetting settlement workers in foreign neighborhoods, bringing the knowledge of America's tongue, of America's past glory, of America's hopes, to the newcomers) watching with a bitter heart how their words fell upon deaf ears; how classrooms grew empty and social halls deserted; how the foreigner in an inexplicable way preferred to huddle close to his own and be content to live in his ancient shell of tradition; how, slowly these alien

colonies in the heart of the great cities emerged like "lonely coral islands in a vast and surging sea." "Are American ideals," mused the disappointed missionary, "so foreign to the soul of these wretched folk, that their only response is a blank gaze and a hopeless shrug? Or do they perhaps prize their own ideals so highly that they have nothing but disdain left for those of their adopted country?" The Great War gave the unmistakable answer to this as to so many other riddles about the immigrant. The same fiery enthusiasm for freedom that animated the builders of this nation also stirred the hearts of the immigrant peoples. Why, then, did they appear to scorn the teachings of Americanism? The reply, born of a great spiritual crisis, was: America taught her foreign-born in terms they could not understand; in terms that were removed from the struggles of their daily life and still more distant from their hopes for the future.¹ Instead of

¹ The findings of the Cleveland Education Survey (1916) in the matter of the teaching of the adult immigrant would hold, in the main, of evening school work in most of the American cities where immigrants are offered opportunities to learn English and civics, namely: "The trouble is that the teaching methods have not been intelligently adapted to the needs and abilities of the pupils." *The School and The Immigrant*, by Herbert H. Miller, *Cleveland Education Survey*, p. 91. As illustrative of the work done, the investigator cites his observations made in five successive classrooms in one school visited in March, 1916. In the first of these classes husky laboring men were engaged in copying: "I am a yellow bird. I can sing. I can fly. I can sing to you." In the second class the teacher ended up a poorly conducted lesson by having his adult pupils read a selection about making pickles from cucumbers. In the third class, the instructor spent most of the hour trying to teach inflections, voices, moods, tenses, numbers and

conceiving the immigrant as he really was, an individual with innumerable ties binding him to a social group and a traditional background, she thought of him much like the central figure plucked out of the heart of an elaborate painting and pasted in solitary grandeur upon a blank white wall. Americanization, then, was pronounced a failure. It was necessary to cast about for other methods and perhaps for other ideals of incorporation.¹ But before finally discarding the means hitherto employed and proceeding to devise others, it is well to discover, if possible, what this costly error in Americanization has really been.

II

The outstanding features of immigration to the United States during the thirty years before the European War were the steady rise, on the whole, in the volume of the incoming flood and the massing of the

persons and wound up with a reading lesson about a robin. In the fourth room, the lesson was about "Little drops of water, Little grains of sand." In the fifth class, the 14 men present were engaged in reading a selection beginning:

"Oh baby, dear baby,
Whatever you do,
You are the king of the home
And we all bend to you."

¹ Discussing the failure of the evening school system to attract the foreign born and to "Americanize" him in a genuine way, the District Superintendent in charge of the evening schools of New York City wrote: "The evening schools had failed, present methods had to be scrapped and a new form of attack made." *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1916-1917*. Evening Schools, p. 23.

foreign-born in the large commercial and industrial centers. While the proportionate number of foreign-born whites in the United States increased only slightly in this period, the absolute number increased from a little over six and a half millions to thirteen and a half millions.¹ But what was far more significant was the striking growth of many of the foreign colonies *as such*, doubling and trebling their numbers between 1890 and 1910.² This was especially marked among the peoples from Eastern and Southern Europe. The indispensable basis in human material was thus being laid for the growth of immigrant community life. For what is more essential to the heightening of group consciousness than a massing together in a more or less limited area of like-minded individuals? Under such conditions it is easier for the group to live its traditional life and to reproduce for its young the social atmosphere of the old-world home. The influence of the nationalistic leader and his nucleus of devotees is enlarged and strengthened. There is even the tendency for the group to grow economically more and more self-sufficient, of course, within clearly definable limits. From time to time, also, crises in the life of the parent country heighten the self-consciousness of the immigrant group³. It is this impressive fact of the gradual growth and organization of immigrant *communities* that was consistently ignored by the Americanization worker or the existence of which was per-

¹ See 13th Census, 1910, Vol. I, Popul., p. 831, Table 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 854, Table 37.

³ For a description of the effect of the European War crisis upon immigrant groups, see Chapter I.

haps not even suspected by him. The faster the web of community life grew, the more the immigrant group came to regard him as entirely dispensable, and the more difficult was it for him to reach the immigrant as an individual. It was serious enough to have committed the pedagogic mistake of not approaching the alien through the medium of his social heritage. But it was almost fatal to have purposely discounted the growing power of his immediate community upon him and to have failed to utilize its almost limitless possibilities for the process of incorporation.

III

So unaccustomed are even serious students of the immigration problem to thinking about it in this fashion, that answers to the most elementary questions in this field have hardly been framed as yet. What is the nature of this community life? What is its scope? How widely spread and how far developed is it among the various immigrant groups? Does it exhibit signs of permanence or is it merely a fleeting phenomenon? Is its growth to be deliberately discouraged? Is it to be consciously fostered? Or is it to be permitted to disintegrate of its own lack of vitality, melting away into the larger life of the general community? What is its bearing upon the policy of incorporation which must needs be re-formulated? A host of other similar questions suggest themselves only to be met with either a partial answer or no answer at all. Here, indeed is a worthy task for a new Immigration Commission which, unlike that of 1907, would make the central subject of its inquiry immigrant *community*

life, in all its variegated phases, rather than the detached, atomized, and, therefore, unreal immigrant laborer. As matters stand now, the best that can be done is to frame with as much caution as existing descriptive materials permit, a generalized picture of immigrant community life in America, to be corrected and refined with the elaboration of more detailed and intimate studies.¹

¹ No exhaustive studies of the community life of the various immigrant groups are as yet available. The study of "Methods of Americanization" which is being conducted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, is perhaps the most comprehensive effort thus far launched in this field of research. The results of the study have not yet been published. The most elaborate single analysis is contained in the Jewish Communal Register of New York City, 1917-1918, a survey of the activities of the Jewish Community of Greater New York. Among other sources drawn upon for the facts in the summary statement presented above, are the following:

J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, Chapt. V, Manufacturing and Mining Communities, pp. 72-79; Chapt. VII, Immigrant Institutions.

Reports of the Immigration Commission, 1911. Vol. I, pp. 494-497, on types of immigrant communities.

Report of the Commission on Immigration to Massachusetts, Chapt. IX, Sec. 2, Organizations among Immigrants for Self-help.

Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens*, Chapt. XVII, The Organized Life of Slavs in America.

H. P. Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*.

Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*, Chapt. XX, United States; IV, The Italian experience; Chapt. XXI, The Emigrants — A Study of Motive and Trait.

Grace Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*.

Archibald McClure, *Leadership of the New America, Racial and Religious*.

H. B. Grose, *Aliens or Americans*.

IV

That these immigrant communities have certain outstanding common features in spite of a bewildering variety of differences, is soon borne in upon the mind of the scientific observer. These similarities are more easily discerned in the superficial, physical aspects.¹ There is, first, the well-known tendency to congest in a definite, rather limited area, in the heart of large industrial and commercial centres. Sometimes there is further grouping in the same or adjacent blocks, of people from identical native villages and towns. How

Wm. P. Shriver, *Immigrant Forces*, Chapt. III, The New Communities.

Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America*.

Lord, Trenor and Barrows, *The Italian in America*.

Enrico C. Sartorio, *Social and Religious Life of Italians in America*.

A. Mangano, *Sons of Italy*.

The American Leader—Official organ of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers.

Also an unpublished survey of the community life of the Armenians and the Greeks in New York City, prepared under the auspices of the Cosmopolitan City Club of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

¹ The generalized picture here given applies primarily to immigrant communities in large or smaller commercial and industrial centres. There are, of course, two other types of communities, the camp colony of foreigners engaged on public work, on transportation lines or in some private large-scale industry; and the rural communities of farmers and their families. The first type, being more or less transient and consisting mainly of men, cannot justly be called a community. The second type has more of the characteristics of a real community, such as a social life centering very often around the church.

in these colonies the old-world atmosphere is often reproduced with striking completeness is well described by a European observer fresh from his wanderings through the congested sections of New York:¹

I strolled over Third Avenue into Mulberry Street. I was in Sicily at one end of the street and in Piedmont at the other end. The very same odor of fried fish I had tried to escape in Naples assailed my nostrils. The very same impudent cries of the Genoese fish-seller greeted my ears. From one end of the street to the other not a word of English except the vilest curses. The signs over the doors in Italian. The clothes of the people, the litter on the streets, the colored shawls tied under the chins of the swarthy wrinkled faces of the prematurely aged women! It was all Italian. It was Italy, with separate provinces and dialects; and to my complete edification I witnessed knife play between a Sicilian fish-peddler and a Calabrese loafer. On the corner of the street stood a policeman. I was tempted to ask him "Please where is America?" But he stared me out of my wits.

I walked out of Mulberry Street and fell into the Greek quarter. It looked more like some side street of Stamboul. Cafés every ten feet. Long-mustached, sleek fellows were playing cards and drinking coffee from small cups.

I soon came into the Jewish quarter. Here and there a sign in another language than Hebrew. I wandered into the Syrian quarter on Washington Street. Beauti-

¹ Konrad Bercovici, in the *New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 21, 1919. "In Quest of America in Foreign New York. Adventures of a Visitor from Rumania." For more detailed descriptions see his book, *Dust of New York*.

ful laces and heavy brocades in the store windows. Goldsmiths working on the door sills with their legs crossed under them, and the little anvil between the knees. Sellers of sweets passing up and down the street. Vendors of lemonade in red fezes, and the whole atmosphere impregnated with the odor of the decomposing sugar from dates and figs. It was Smyrna or Jaffa or the Port of Athens. A young, barefooted boy sold a newspaper printed in the Arabic language which was eagerly bought by every one.

.

For days and days I searched for Americans but the only thing American I saw was the dollar. And even his Majesty's name was not everywhere the same. The French called it "piece," the Italian "peze," the Russians "ruble," the Germans "thaler," the Rumanians "leu."

With noticeable additions to the population, mainly through immigration, the original settlement sends out colonists into other sections of the city, where the same processes of community life are apt to repeat themselves.¹ Through frequent visits to old haunts and to relatives and friends who have as yet been

¹ As illustrations of this may be cited the spread of the Jewish population in New York City where today there are at least eight well defined centers of Jewish communal life; the growth of the Greek Community in New York City with three fairly distinct areas of settlement; the development of the Armenian colony, of the Italian colony, and several others. For approximate distribution of nationalities in New York City (1910) see maps in *Statistical Sources for Demographic Studies in New York City*. Edited by Walter Laidlaw, Ph. D.

unable to "escape," contacts with the community are kept alive long after the exodus. A rise in economic status, encouraging greater mobility, further tends to split the original nucleus. The more well-to-do individuals and families come to reside in less congested sections where they find themselves a dwindling minority among other minorities. Here are no more to be found the characteristic land-marks of each immigrant colony—its coffee-houses and restaurants, its churches and synagogues, its meeting halls and book-stores, its steamship-ticket offices and savings banks, its foreign flags and foreign signs and perhaps its foreign odors, too. Here even the practised eye of the anthropologist would find it more difficult to pick out racial types, than in the congested quarter where the massing of people brought out physical features in sharp relief. The versatile linguist, too, would miss the medley of alien tongues and dialects, while the lover of the queer in costumes would search in vain for the picturesque rags of the poor foreigner. It is as if some powerful, invisible, irresistible steam-roller had passed over the whole population and ruthlessly ironed out all differences.

V

But to look for evidences of immigrant community life solely in these outward, more or less static features, is but to touch its bare shell; for no sooner does the observer penetrate the surface than he is caught in a net work of social organizations ranging in type from the simplest, undifferentiated local club to the most complex, nationwide association performing an as-

tonishly varied number of functions. The omnipresent "mutual aid and benefit society" is, to many an immigrant, insurance company, social club, political center, labor union, all in one. Out of this matrix, and quite as often out of his church or synagogue, arises, under the pressure of growing communal needs, the vast assortment of specialized agencies so characteristic of the more highly conscious immigrant communities. This process of differentiation may result in the multiplication of similar institutions, as when a revolting group of congregants decides to organize an "independent" church or synagogue; or when an enterprising assistant to a newspaper editor boldly launches a new publication, even though the community could well afford to do without it; or when a high official of a "sick and death benefit society" defiantly gathers his own sympathizers into a separate "society" to revenge himself for the outrage to his dignity by the ingrates in the lodge *he* built up by the sweat of his brow. Again, the differentiation may occur in one of the large central, supra-communal organizations, when after a careful canvass of the sentiment of its legion of members, and a still more careful inspection of its treasury, it undertakes a new type of work, in addition to its multifarious activities. Conspicuous among this type of immigrant communal organization are the "National Alliances" or "Unions"¹ of the suppressed

¹For example the Polish National Alliance, the Bohemian National Alliance, the Pan-Hellenic Union among the Greeks, the Ukrainian National Association, the Slovak League, the Sons of Italy, the Lithuanian National Alliance, the Armenian Colonial Association. Somewhat similar to these organizations are the

nationalities of Europe. Motivated very largely by a keen interest in the political situation of the homeland, they keep alive the nationalistic spirit among their followers by publication of propaganda literature, by conducting periodically national gatherings, by the educational work of staffs of travelling lecturers, and by soliciting funds for patriotic work in the old country. Not the least of their activities, however, refer to life among their clientele in this country. They support social and recreational centers, nationalistic and parochial schools, publish newspapers and books, coördinate the work of their constituent sick benefit societies, conduct immigrant homes, naturalization clubs and societies, employment bureaus and orphanages, and dispense relief and medical aid to the sick poor. Some of the activities, meeting a genuine demand on the part of the immigrants, flourish and are steadily enlarged; others wane and are finally discarded. Thus, in the ceaseless ebb and flow of immigrant communal life, institutions come and go.

With growth of population, needs become more pressing and more clearly defined, until there is developed in the highly conscious immigrant community a series of specialized agencies dealing directly with every phase of its life except perhaps the political.¹ Prob-

“Six Companies,” a federation of benevolent societies among the Chinese, and the Japanese Associations among the Japanese.

¹ For an elaborate differentiation into communal agencies, see *Jewish Communal Register for New York City, 1917-1918*, p. 99 and p. 101, describing the manifold activities of the Jewish Community of New York City with a population of about a million and a half. The following, adapted from more detailed tables,

lems of employment and unemployment are met by employment exchanges and vocational bureaus. Trade and technical education are provided for in elaborately equipped and highly efficient vocational schools; free loan societies place their facilities generously at the disposal of hard pressed individuals who are thus saved from the necessity of appealing to charitable organizations. Labor unions, employers' associations, committees of arbitration, mediation and concilia-

shows the types of agencies, the number and the approximate amount of money spent by them.

JEWISH COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY
1917-1918

<i>Type of communal organization</i>	<i>Number of organizations</i>	<i>Approximate amount spent during the year 1917-1918</i>
Philanthropic	164	\$4,300,000
Religious and Cultural	1,031	\$9,795,000
Economic (including Mutual Aid Societies, Lodges, etc.)	2,153	\$3,462,000
Co-ordinating and Research	3	\$100,000
Total	3,351	\$17,657,000

In addition, there are listed 277 miscellaneous agencies, making a total of 3,628 communal organizations.

tion, concern themselves with knotty questions arising out of the contending claims of employer and employee. Credit unions or "people's banks" make credit available to the man of small means at moderate terms and on the same business basis as characterizes the relation between the commercial bank and its clients. Numberless mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations minister to the economic and social needs of hundreds of thousands of working people. Agricultural aid societies, distribution agencies, farmers' associations, aid in the settlement of individuals and families on the land. For the poor there are relief societies and sisterhoods; for the sick, hospitals, sanatoria and convalescent homes; for dependent children, cottage homes and boarding out bureaus; for the deaf, dumb and blind, institutions and methods of the most approved form; for the aged and infirm, pleasant homes in which to pass the remaining years of their lonely life in peace and comfort. Wayward boys and girls are under the kindly supervision of organized groups of "big brothers" and "big sisters"; trained probation and parole officers keep a watchful eye on adult delinquents and released prisoners, while special committees on vice and crime are ceaselessly probing into causes and formulating remedies. To counteract the demoralizing effects of commercialized recreation among the youth, young men's and young women's associations, settlements, social and community centers, educational societies, all vie with one another to offer wholesome amusement in stimulating surroundings. For the vast throngs, however, beyond the influence of this limited number of agencies, the foreign

language theater is the dispenser of pleasure; and while the press, as such, would hardly be considered a means of recreation, the foreign language newspapers do perform this function for the great mass of their readers. Religious education, too, has its increasingly important place in the scheme of communal activities. Parochial schools, Sunday schools, institutions providing supplementary week-day instruction to children of school age, religious teachers' training schools and institutes, theological seminaries, a variety of organizations of religious functionaries, all foster the interest of the new generation in the traditions of the forefathers. Finally, encompassing this vast network of organizations and critically appraising their work, are federations of philanthropy, coördinating, standardizing and research bureaus, and institutions for the training of social workers.

In such a seething community life leadership of every variety of excellence flourishes and decays. The narrow, self-centered, unscrupulous manipulator of men and things is found working side by side with the imaginative idealist losing his self in the "great cause." The practical opportunist and the uncompromising dogmatist both have numberless occasions to work their will upon constituencies of varying sizes and varying tempers. Deeds of rare unselfishness on the part of one compatriot for another are paralleled by inexcusable practices of exploitation, whether these be the trickery and heartlessness of the employment agent, the padrone, the steamship ticket agent, or the baser crimes of white-slavers preying upon the ignorance and credulity of the immigrant girl.

In a word, the group life acts, on the one hand, as a selective force, drawing upon its gifted members for help in conserving its identity and further growth; on the other hand, it offers fertile soil for the parasitic members of the community to live off the body of their unadjusted fellow-nationals. Not a few of these leaders in immigrant communal activities eventually widen their sphere of influence and put their experiences to more or less wise use in the larger doings of the general community.

Thus, were there sufficiently complete data available it would not be difficult to arrange, in an ascending scale, present immigrant communities, beginning with the unorganized, vaguely conscious body of illiterate aliens, eking out a miserable existence economically and spiritually, and ending with the intensely self-conscious community, having a multitude of communal organs of expression and attempting to formulate the rationale of its life in a complex environment.

VI

Viewed in this way, the whole structure of immigrant community life creates the illusion of permanence. What else can there be in the minds and hearts of these myriads of indefatigable workers, building and building, like bees in their busy hives, but the longing to perpetuate their group-life for coming generations? So perfect is this illusion that it has apparently misled a brilliant observer of immigrant life so far as to make him construct upon this precarious base, an ingenious theory of a federation of nationalities in America.¹

¹ Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot. A

"Immigrants," he writes, "appear to pass through four phases in the course of being Americanized. In the first phase they exhibit economic eagerness, the greed of the unfed. Since external differences are a handicap in the economic struggle, they assimilate, seeking thus to facilitate the attainment of economic independence. Once the proletarian level of such independence is reached, the process of assimilation slows down and tends to come to a stop. The immigrant group is still a national group, modified, sometimes improved, by environmental influences, but otherwise a solitary spiritual unit which is seeking to find its way out on its own social level. This search brings to light permanent group distinctions, and the immigrant, like the Anglo-Saxon American, is thrown back upon himself and his ancestry. Then a process of dissimilation begins. The arts, life and ideals of the nationality become central and paramount; ethnic and national differences change in status from disadvantages to distinctions. All the while the immigrant has been using the English language and behaving like an American in matters economic and political, and continues to do so. The institutions of the Republic have become the liberating cause and the background for the rise of the cultural consciousness and social autonomy of the immigrant Irishman, German, Scandinavian, Jew, Pole or Bohemian. On the whole, Americanization has not repressed nationality. Americanization has liberated nationality." In effect, then, he continues, "we are in the process of becoming a true Study of American Nationality," *The Nation*, Part I, in issue of February 18, 1915. Part II, in issue of February 25, 1915.

Federal state, such a State as men hope for as the outcome of the European War, a great republic consisting of a Federation or Commonwealth of nationalities." And since that is the fact, why not face it bravely? Why not understand that a new and perhaps worthier ideal of American life is here foreshadowed? In the future America "the common language of the commonwealth, the language of its great political tradition, is English, but each nationality expresses its emotional and voluntary life in its own language, in its own inevitable æsthetic and intellectual forms. The common life of the commonwealth is politico-economic and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each nation that composes it. Thus 'American civilization' may come to mean the perfection of the coöperative harmonies of 'European civilization,' the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe being eliminated—a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind."

VII

Alluring as such an ideal may be, it turns out to be a will-o-the-wisp, when examined in the light of a deeper understanding of immigrant community life of today. At the very base of the structure are forces at work silently sapping its stability. Some of these disruptive influences are more relentless than others. But all together they form an almost irresistible combination. One need begin only with the proverbial lack of harmony among Greeks, Poles, Armenians, Jews and the other immigrant groups. Nothing is so repeatedly impressed upon the inquirer by the immigrant leader as

the fact that there is no united leadership in the group, that petty factional quarrels retard urgent work and that if only unity could somehow be created, many of the woes of the immigrant would disappear. This internecine strife has its roots in differences of political outlook, of religious belief, of economic status, all harking back to the social milieu in the old-world home from which the contending parties inherited their distinctive earmarks. Freedom of speech and of action in an exhilarating democratic atmosphere further accentuate particularistic tendencies, until many a promising leader throws up his hands in despair and withdraws from active participation in communal affairs. More often than not, financial success on the part of the enterprising immigrant means a severance of ties with his less fortunate brethren, who are left to struggle alone against great odds, while he floats on into the wider, freer world of general community life which quickly engulfs him.

VIII

More pervasive, however, in its disintegrating effects is the waning of the influence of formal religion upon the masses of immigrants. Thus, rupture may begin with the revolt of congregants against the authority of the priest appointed by the ecclesiastical powers "at home," deposing him, selecting a spiritual leader of their own choosing for their "independent" church, and retaining the administration of church funds in their own hands. The first step is thus taken towards the secularization of communal activities. The lack of an adequate number of well-trained clergymen may set

adrift numberless groups who perhaps are only too eager to be freed from the oppressive formalism of the church as they knew it in the old world. Indifference easily ripens into open opposition, and once the word of defiance is uttered, the magic spell of religion is broken forever. Skepticism, free thought, atheism, anarchism, are then congenial systems of thought, strengthened and confirmed at many points by bitter experiences of industrial injustice.

IX

But the fatal disease gnawing at the vitals of the immigrant community is the "diluted" second generation. Silently, under the roof of every immigrant home there is going on a death-struggle between two worlds, two cultures, two civilizations. One is fixed, mellowed and clarified by centuries of social living in a congenial environment; the other is as yet inchoate, crude, halting. In the same family circle different tongues are spoken, different newspapers and books are read, different foods are eaten, different manners and customs observed. The younger members, having no memories of oppression in subjugated lands, respond but feebly to the stirring appeal for freedom from the tyrants. It is not from the second generation that the thousands of members of sick-benefit societies and national alliances are recruited. Thus, lack of affiliation with any immigrant organization whatsoever is the rule rather than the exception among the children of the foreign-born. It is no wonder, then, that they feel no desire to perpetuate the group, for to them the group does not exist. But what is most ominous for

the immigrant community is the striking increase in the proportion of inter-marriage in the second generation.¹ The wider the contacts with other national and religious circles, the greater the chances of fusion. The "melting pot" does indeed seem to melt and keeps on melting with increasing power as the generations recede from the source of traditional life.

The fear of thus losing the children haunts the older generation. It is not merely the natural desire of parent to retain influence over child. Nor is it simply the dread that the wayward offspring will mar the good name of the immigrant group by abuse of his newly found freedom. It is a vague uneasiness that a delicate network of precious traditions is being ruthlessly torn asunder, that a whole world of ideals is crashing into ruins; and amidst this desolation the fathers and mothers picture themselves wandering about lonely in vain search of their lost children.

X

With an ingenuity that is well-nigh pathetic, the older generation sets about reclaiming those who have strayed away, and preventing the growing youth from falling a prey to the same alienating influences. The scope and effectiveness of this activity depend, of course, very largely upon the degree of self-consciousness of the groups, upon the presence of enterprising leaders and upon the general economic well-being of the immigrants. Social centers providing numberless opportunities for joyous gatherings of young people are

¹ For a detailed discussion of the facts of intermarriage, see Chapters IV and V.

organized. Nationalist education, with its emphasis on the history, literature and other cultural heritage of the people finds expression in a growing number of supplementary schools. The youths of intellect and promise of leadership are sought out and trained for service to their group. Philosophies of reconciliation and adjustment to American life are formulated by the thinkers who look beyond the turmoil and confusion of the present. To many of these, however, specific reforms of abnormal conditions of immigrant life, important though they may be, are like so much useless patchwork, incapable of staving off the inevitable breakdown of the community. To the morbid imagination of these fatalistic doctrinaires the feverish activity of immigrant community life appears like the hectic flush upon the cheek of the consumptive about to succumb to his disease.

XI

But are there no counter-forces neutralizing or at any rate retarding this subtle process of disintegration? There are, but these seem to be of only temporary character. The constant influx of new immigrants, augmenting the parent-group, provides human material out of which to fashion additional communal organizations. This periodic infusion of new blood vitalizes a social life that constantly tends to thin out and be merged with the larger life about it. Great spiritual crises, such as disaster to kinsmen in the old-world home, war, realization of age-long hopes of national autonomy, shock the immigrant groups into painful sensibility and rouse them to marvelous co-

operative efforts. But, when all these extraneous stimuli have spent their force, the group cannot fall back upon its inner vitality for sustenance. If there be within it the inexhaustible spring of self-consciousness its autonomous life will flow on freely, creating new forms of adjustment while yet conserving its own individuality. But, if for any reason, this spring should dry up, the communal mechanism so ingeniously contrived by the labors of a thousand minds will lie dead, like the lifeless works of a clock run down.

XII

There is perhaps no country in the world which faces this unique problem of the incorporation of foreign groups in just the shape in which America is confronted with it. Under her very eyes are emerging new cultural forms only to be undermined and swept aside in the irresistible current of an all-leveling life. The current is swift and uncontrolled. Is it also uncontrollable? Can a nation set out to mold consciously and deliberately its budding civilization?

One need mention only the example of Germany, which within the five or six decades before the European War had grown from a loose collection of feudal agricultural states to a highly industrialized, first-class power, under the brutal urge of a conscious, imperialistic ideal.¹ But to cite this example is at the same time to make clear the radically different conditions under which conscious civilization-building must be

¹ See Frederic C. Howe, *Socialized Germany*, and W. H. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*, for a clear analysis of how this was accomplished.

attempted in America. The fusion of races and cultures is here proceeding in a democratic setting. There is neither the call nor the need for compulsion. In fact, there is an almost pathetic readiness on the part of the children of the fusing peoples to relinquish their individuality. It would even seem to some as if they should perhaps be protected from the folly of their utter self-abandon. Moreover, the drama is staged here on a scale unprecedented in the history of any nation. Little wonder, then, that prophecy halts before such an awe-inspiring spectacle!

XIII

Now it is perhaps this very vastness that induces many students to approach through quick, misleading, often flippant generalizations, this problem of incorporating the various ethnic elements into America. To them it seems almost self-evident that the only feasible method of study is general observation of immigrant life, more or less cautious and well-balanced; yet thus far they have failed to observe its most significant feature, namely, the rise and growth of the immigrant community. On the other hand, those who see the full import of this striking fact and attempt to approach the problem from this new angle, find themselves blocked in their efforts by the fragmentary nature of the available data. Not until exhaustive and intimate inquiries into immigrant group life in this country have been made will the foundation have been laid for a sound policy of incorporation.

Meanwhile it is necessary that forecasts of probable effects and actual attempts at social control of the

immigrant question proceed from the basis of measurable facts, if possible. It is high time to search for some more secure starting point, even though the result reached may turn out to have neither the precision nor the finality of a mathematical solution.

PART II

INTERMARRIAGE AMONG ETHNIC
GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER IV

THE FACTS OF INTERMARRIAGE

I

A study of the facts of intermarriage offers a reasonably secure base from which to begin excursions into the elusive problem of assimilation. Several reasons would tend to confirm this view. Intermarriage, as such, is perhaps the severest test of group cohesion. Individuals who freely pass in marriage from one ethnic circle into another are not under the spell of an intense cultural or racial consciousness. Consequently, the greater the number of mixed marriages, the weaker, broadly speaking, the group solidarity. Moreover, such a test as this is quantitative. Statistics of intermarriage furnish concrete, measurable materials in a field where such data are as urgently needed as they are hard to secure.

II

Adopting this method of approach, however, several difficulties arise immediately. The first and most discouraging is, that practically no facts on intermarriage in the United States are available. Little is known of the extent of the fusion, of the rate at which it is taking place or of the groups amalgamating quickly or slowly. Still less is known of the biologic effects in the actual cases of intermarriage, while the

subtle interplay in mixed marriages of different types of mind and of culture has thus far almost completely eluded the observation of the scientific student. "Much remains to be done in the study of this subject" writes Professor Boas,¹ "and, considering our lack of knowledge of the most elementary facts that determine the outcome of this process I feel it behooves us to be most cautious in our reasoning . . . the more so, since the answer to these questions concerns the welfare of millions of people."

III

A natural consequence of this lack of quantitative data is that statistical methods of treatment of the problem have hardly been developed. Whatever work *has* been done in the problem of assimilation is either historical or observational in its content and method. Instances of group interaction in the past are selected, the general results noted from an analysis of historical records, and conclusions drawn that have more or less universal validity.² Or, the process of assimilation is carefully observed in the case of living social groups.³

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Chapter X, Race Problems in the United States, p. 263.

² A striking illustration of this type of work is *Der Rassenkampf*, by Ludwig Gumplowicz; see also Sarah E. Simmons, "Social Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7, July-May, 1901-1902; Part II, V. Assimilation in the Ancient World; VI. Assimilation during the Middle Ages.

³ See Sarah E. Simons, *op. cit.*, VII, Assimilation in the Western World (including Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, United States). An ingenious method of study is employed in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Monograph of an Immigrant*

As in all research of this nature, definite limits are set to it by the authenticity of the historical evidence, by the number of proper examples illustrating the process, and by the skill and social insight the student exhibits in the interpretation of the facts. With the development of statistical science, quantitative methods will doubtless come to supply the deficiencies in a substantial manner. It is even possible to conceive, without an undue stretch of the scientific imagination, that experimentation may be added as a further device for arriving at the social laws underlying the process of group interaction. The situation in the United States strongly suggests such a possibility. Here is to be found the requisite human material in an undreamed-of abundance and variety. Here group and class consciousness, is, relatively speaking, less intense and less exclusive than perhaps in any other country. Consequently, while the biologic factors involved may possibly for a long time elude social control, the social-psychic forces generated in the group contacts are certainly more amenable to conscious manipulation. At any rate, students are beginning to point out the unique opportunity America possesses in this regard.

IV

But even if the basic data of the extent and the direction of intermarriage among ethnic groups in the United States were already at hand, a scientific

Group, by Wm. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. Through an analysis of series of peasant letters and autobiographical materials, light is thrown upon the organization of the Polish peasant group-life and its modification in a new environment.

interpretation of the meaning of the facts would not be an easy matter. For, inevitably there would arise the mooted question of the desirability or undesirability of ethnic amalgamation. Depending upon what is conceived as the ideal of the future American society, the facts might be made to spell its doom or its salvation, its progress or its degeneration. Moreover, it is a legitimate doubt how far intermarriage, as such, is an index of assimilation in the United States. "There are Europeans who hold" writes Bryce¹ "—and in this physiologically minded age it is natural that men should hold—that the evolution of a distinctively American type of character and manner must still be distant, because the heterogeneous elements of the population . . . must take a long time to become mixed and assimilated. This is a plausible view, yet I doubt whether differences of blood have the importance which it assumes. What strikes the traveller, and what the Americans themselves delight to point out to him, is the amazing solvent power which American institutions, habits and ideas exercise upon newcomers of all races. The children of Irishmen, Germans and Scandinavians are far more like native Americans than prevalent views of heredity would have led us to expect . . . I venture, however, to believe that the intellectual and moral atmosphere into which the settlers from Europe come, has more power to assimilate men than their race qualities had power to change it; and that the future of America will be less affected by this influx of new blood than any one who has not studied the American democracy of to-day can realize." Doubt

¹ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 725.

is further strengthened when it is found that a low proportion of intermarriage may coexist with a high degree of mental and social assimilation.¹

But while all of these difficulties are genuine, to be sure, and to a certain degree limit the value of intermarriage statistics, none of the obstacles is insurmountable. Although few facts relating to the fusion of ethnic groups in the United States have yet been gathered, the sources for such studies are easily accessible. With a sufficiently strong scientific interest, and a considerable degree of patience on the part of investigators, the groundwork will soon be laid for a thorough understanding of the vital questions involved.²

V

To make the task simpler in the initial stages, the problem might be divided into its two natural divisions: the fusion among themselves of the varieties of the white races, particularly the European types; and the mixture of the white race with other races in America, such as the negro, the Indian and the yellow races. Attention might then be confined to the first subdivision, leaving the researches into the second to be undertaken after substantial progress has been made in the first. That this would not be an unjustifiable procedure will easily be granted, in view of the fact that social and political conditions in the United States have kept and are likely to keep down to a negligible figure, for an indefinite period to come, the

¹ As an illustration of this may be cited the Jewish group. See Table V, p. 121 and Table F, p. 264, for proportions of intermarriage.

² See Appendix A, Methodological Note, p. 241.

proportion of intermarriage between the white and the colored populations.¹ This limitation of the field of research further simplifies the question. Whereas

¹See Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, p. 441 ". . . the prejudice against the mixture of North European whites and Chinese is extreme and has resulted in an amendment adding the word 'Mongolians' to the law prohibiting intermarriage of white persons and negroes, in several states and territories."

Sentiment against miscegenation in the South is strong and growing both among the whites and among negroes. Intermarriage is legally prohibited in all the Southern States and in the following Northern and Western States: Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah. In Northern States where there is no prohibition there seems to be even less intermixture. See Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line*, Chapter VIII, The Mulatto: The Problem of Race Mixture. Also M. S. Evans, *Black and White in the Southern States*, Chapter IX, Blood Mixture, The Sin of the White Man. Also Gilbert T. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law*, Chapter VI, Intermarriage and Miscegenation. Also Albert E. Jenks, *The Legal Status of Negro-White Amalgamation in the United States*, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 21, July-May, 1915-16, p. 666. Also Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, Chapter IV, Race Amalgamation.

Boas, commenting on the intermixture of black and white populations in the United States remarks: "While the large body of the white population will always, at least for a very long time to come, be entirely remote from any possibility of intermixture with negroes, I think that we may predict with a fair degree of certainty a condition in which the contrast between colored people and whites will be less marked than it is at present." *Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 275-276. He feels, moreover, that the policy of those states which attempt to prevent all racial intermixture is based upon a misunderstanding of the process involved. "The alleged reason for this type of legislation is the necessity of protecting the

there is considerable difference of opinion among biologists and sociologists as to the desirability of miscegenation among peoples of divergent races, such as the white and the black or the white and the yellow,¹ there is a closer approach to unanimity on the question of the fusion of varieties of the same race.² Keeping

white race against the infusion of negro blood. As a matter of fact, this danger does not exist. With very few exceptions, the union between whites and negroes are those of white men and negro women. The increase of races, however, is such that the number of children born does not depend upon the number of men, but upon the number of women. Given, therefore, a certain number of negro women, the increase of the colored population will depend upon their number; and if a considerable number of their children are those of white fathers, the race as a whole must necessarily lose its pure negro type. At the same time no such infusion of negro blood into the white race through the maternal line occurs, so that the process is actually one of lightening the negro race without corresponding admixture in the white race." *Op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

¹ Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Vol. 1, pp. 422-424, gives Gobineau's view for and Serres' view against race mixture. See F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 324, 325, for summary of views. See also G. E. Smith, The Influence of Racial Admixture in Egypt, *The Eugenics Review*, Vol. 7, 1915-1916, pp. 163-183. Also U. G. Weatherly, Race and Marriage, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XV, pp. 433-453, Jan., 1910.

² F. H. Giddings, *op. cit.*, pp. 324, 325: "The consensus of the best judgment on this subject, however, supports the conclusion of J. C. Nott, that two resembling races produce fertile offspring, but that when very unlike races are crossed the offspring show an inherent tendency to sterility when kept apart from parent stocks." (Nott and Glidden, *Types of Mankind*, p. 397.) See also paper by Felix von Luschan on "Anthropological View of Race" and Earl Finch's paper on "The Effects of Racial Miscegenation" in *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress at London, July, 1911*, edited by Gustav

this general result in mind and remembering further, that for centuries there has gone on in Europe a process of racial amalgamation similar to that now going on in the United States, without signs of racial deterioration,¹ alarmist prophesies of a "mongrel race" as the outcome of the American process can be seen in their proper perspective.² On the other hand, while

Spiller. Also Ignaz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, 5. Abschnitt, Die Folgen von Inzucht und Rassenmischung, and Hans Fehlinger, Kreuzungen beim Menschen, *Archiv für Rassen und Gesellschaftsbiologie*, 1911, pp. 447-457. Ripley, speaking of the "physical danger" which confronts the United States from the submergence of the English stock by a flood of continental European peoples, corrects himself by remarking: "And yet, after all, is the word 'danger' well considered for use in this connection? What are the English people, after all, but a highly evolved product of racial blending?" See paper "The European Population of the United States," Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1908. *Journal of the Royal Anthropol. Instit.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1908.

¹ Fr. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 260.

² A. Alleman, "Immigration and the Future American Race," *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, Vol. 75, p. 592, July-Dec., 1909: "A mixture of these races with the earlier immigrants could not possibly produce a superior people . . . it would vitiate and deteriorate the American race and might prepare for this nation the fate of the Roman Empire." His argument that the future American race will be Anglo-Saxon runs as follows: A general intermixture of old and new immigrants can take place only in the cities. The rural districts are predominantly Anglo-Saxon. The mixed populations will not persist long because the vitality of city populations is less than that of rural populations. Therefore the country will have to replenish the city populations and therefore the Anglo-Saxon type will prevail on the whole. Professor Ross in an article on "Racial Consequences of Immigration," *Century Magazine*, Dec., 1913, Vol. 87, speaks of a "sub-American mind" and "sub-common blood now being injected into the veins of our people."

visions of a highly variable, versatile and gifted people arising out of the mixture may perhaps be deemed somewhat optimistic¹ it is reasonably safe to assume that no danger is involved, provided the fusion proceeds under favorable social and economic conditions.²

He paints the new immigrants as having "crooked faces, coarse mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws, low foreheads." Their stature, according to him, is smaller, their physique is poorer, their vitality lower, their morality laxer, their natural ability less. For a similar view see also Edwin G. Conklin, "The Effect of Race Intermingling." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, No. 4, 1917: "A hybridized people is a badly put together people and a dissatisfied, restless, ineffective people."

¹ F. H. Giddings, Comments on article by Gustave Michaud: "What Shall We Be? The Coming Race in America." *Century Magazine*, March, 1903, p. 692: "In our own land all of these elements will again combine; not, of course, in the same proportion, for history repeats itself only in its general phases, never in its concrete details. But the proportions will be such as to make a people strong and plastic, with possibilities of action and of expression, of grasp upon the garnered experience of the race, and of daring outreach into the things that as yet have never been, such as no people has yet shown." Or again in an article on "The American People," *The International Quarterly*, June, 1903, Vol. VII, p. 291, Prof. Giddings ventures the opinion: "So far, then as the fundamental qualities of mind are concerned, no harm can come to us through the infusion of a larger measure of Mediterranean and Alpine blood. It will soften the emotional nature, it will quicken the poetic and artistic nature. We shall be a more versatile, a more plastic people, gentler in our thoughts and feelings because of the Alpine strain, livelier and brighter with a higher power to enjoy the beautiful things of life because of the Celtic and Latin blood. And more probably through the commingling of bloods, we shall become more clearly and fearlessly rational, in a word, more scientific."

² In this connection it is instructive to keep in mind the condi-

VI

This additional clarification of the problem, however, serves only to bring the student to closer quarters with the question of interpreting the facts. For, assume that the mixture of the European peoples in the United States is on the whole *not harmful*. Then three fairly distinct standpoints may be held with respect to the meaning of the scope and the direction of the fusion.¹ It may be urged first, that, although mixture is taking place, it is not proceeding rapidly enough for the creation of a homogeneous American people; that even at the expense of losing some of the cultural heritages of the immigrant peoples, the process of

tions under which backward races are assimilated by civilized groups and compare those conditions with the modern situation. See Fr. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 8-13. The reasons why the tribes of Europe readily assimilated the civilization that was offered them, while the primitive peoples of today dwindle away and become degraded before the approach of civilization are given as:

(a) Little difference in physical appearance between civilized and uncivilized.

(b) Absence of epidemics among the natives similar to those which accompanied the invasion of America and Polynesia by the whites.

(c) Moderate differences in economic life, particularly methods of manufacture. "The conditions for assimilation in ancient Europe were much more favorable than in those countries where in our times primitive people come into contact with civilization" (p. 13). See, also, Wm. Z. Ripley, "Race Progress and Immigration," *Annals Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, Vol. XXXIV, July-Dec., 1909, p. 135.

¹ For a more detailed discussion of these points of view, see Chapter V, Interpretations.

fusion must be accelerated, not by enforced miscegenation, to be sure (such a method impracticable, to say the least), but by the vigorous Americanization of the attitudes of the immigrants, and the consequent undermining of their separate cultural consciousnesses.

Or, again, the view may be taken, that while biologically the result of the fusion may turn out to be a vigorous and perhaps versatile stock, too rapid a mixture involves a sudden break with cultural tradition, a consequent demoralization of the individual and a loss to America of the cultural contributions of the immigrant group—a loss that the country can ill afford to sustain. Since the forces making for amalgamation are irresistible, the only alternative left is to save something from the wreckage, so to speak, by encouraging the disappearing groups to bequeath their cultural heritage to America and then gracefully vanish from the scene. This would involve the temporary heightening of the self-consciousness of the various immigrant groups, something eminently worth while, even at the risk of slowing down the process of fusion for the time being.

The third standpoint that might be defended would hold that, since biologic fusion is really not an absolute essential for the creation of a true nationality, but rather mental and social adjustment of the constituent groups in the society, the question of amalgamation must be left to each immigrant group to determine for itself. According to this view, then, there is only one clear obligation laid upon it. That is, to strive ceaselessly to give to the growing nation the

best in the immigrant cultural heritage, to enter wholeheartedly into the larger national life and become an integral part of the national structure, while yet preserving its individuality as a culture group. In the first two views the future American society is conceived very much after the fashion of the "blend" of the psychologist, where the compound is a unit sensation; while the second view pictures America somewhat like a "pattern," a combination in which the constituents retain their individuality.

VII

Each of these three views can be made the basis of a far-reaching national policy for the incorporation of the immigrant peoples. Interpretations of the facts of ethnic fusion from these divergent angles are thus fraught with momentous results for the future of America. It is therefore essential first, to present the facts impartially and as fully as the available materials permit; secondly, to develop the interpretation of the facts from each point of view separately, to compare the conclusions, and after all evidence has been brought in, to judge which conclusions are more tenable and which would furnish the framework of a sound and reasonable public policy. Above all, the scientific explanation of the facts must be clearly separated from their ethical evaluation. For, in the one case there can be only one aim: the discovery of the true causal relations among the phenomena studied, while in the other case, the aim may differ with the ideal of progress set up as the final goal.

VIII

The last of the apparent difficulties besetting the path of the student is the somewhat questionable character of intermarriage as a reliable index of assimilation. It may with some justice be pointed out that perhaps a more accurate test of group cohesion could be found, such as, for example, affiliation of the individual immigrant with specific communal activities of his group. Were this test applied, the lack of cohesion and disintegration of group life among the immigrant peoples would be found to be far greater and more widespread than the ratios of intermarriage seem to indicate. Thus, while the proportion of intermarriage among the Jews is very low,¹ the ratio of the unsynagogued (that is, those upon whom the synagogue, the characteristic Jewish social institution, has a vital hold no longer) is high.² To cite this instance, however, is to show that the exception proves the rule. Unless there exist a strong racial self-consciousness, barring biologic fusion with other religious and cultural groups, there is comparatively little in the way of amalgamation, once superficial differences of habit-life have been swept away in the course of living and working together. If the ratio of intermarriage among persons of the second generation (native-born of foreign parents) is found to be considerably higher than that among the

¹ See Table V, p. 121 and Table F, p. 264.

² See *Jewish Communal Register, 1917-1918*. "Affiliation with the Synagogue," by M. M. Kaplan, p. 117. Out of 900,000 Jews in New York City only about 415,000 are synagogue Jews, and out of a total seating capacity of 217,725 only 39,260 seats are in synagogues where English sermons are preached.

first generation, it is more than certain that lack of affiliation with immigrant communal life among persons of the second generation is correspondingly high and possibly even higher. To argue from facts of intermarriage of ethnic groups, then, is to err by underestimating rather than overestimating the extent of assimilation.

IX

But the first step, after all, must be to get the facts, and this is by no means an easy task. The huge volumes of the census contain very little information on intermarriage. The only recourse is to literally dig the pertinent data out of original marriage records. For single-handed investigators, without ample mechanical facilities, a comprehensive survey of the field is utterly out of the question. The best that can be accomplished under the circumstances is to select an American community in which the fusion of ethnic elements is in process under social and economic conditions fairly typical of all other communities that harbor more or less distinct immigrant colonies.

Of all American cities, Greater New York seems more admirably fitted for such a sample study than any other community that might be selected. Here are gathered together nationalities and races from all lands and all climes. Here immigrant colonies flourish in all their exotic luxuriance. Here opportunity for self-sufficient communal life is as complete as is possible away from the native soil. Yet here there is mobility and contact, subtle temptation of all kinds to break with the old tradition and to blend with the

attractive stranger.¹ In this, New York City is typical of all other larger American cities that have received their share of the immigration of the last twenty-five or thirty years.² To be sure the intermarriage statis-

¹ Professor Mayo-Smith, commenting on the analogous situation in European countries, writes: "Mixed marriages between persons of different nationality are not very common in Europe compared with the total number of marriages, because of the small number of foreigners present in the country. Some statistics from France for 1891 (*Zeitschrift des Preuss. Bur.*, 1893, S. C. IV) show that more than one-fourth of the Germans marrying there married German wives, while about one-half married French wives. On the other hand, more than one-half of the German women married French husbands. About the same proportions are true of the English. Two-thirds of the Belgians marry women of the same nationality; about one-third of the Italians and about one-sixth of the Swiss marry women of the same nationality. In all these cases the foreign women are more disposed to marry French men than foreign men are disposed to marry French women." *Statistics and Sociology*, Richmond Mayo-Smith, p. 111.

² Of the foreign-born whites in the United States in 1910 no less than 72.2% were in urban communities (cities of 2,500 and above), 53.1% were in cities of 25,000 and more. See *U. S. Census, 1910*, Popul. Vol. 1, p. 172, Table 32. Of fifty cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more, in 1910, thirty had a foreign-born white population amounting to more than 25% of their total population. New York City had a foreign born white population of 40.4%. Only two other cities, Fall River, Mass. (42.6%), and Lowell, Mass. (40.9%), had a higher percentage than Greater New York. See Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 527, Table 27. The presence of a rather small proportion of persons of colored races (black, yellow, red) in New York City adds rather than detracts from the propriety of the choice of that city, since this study is devoted primarily to an analysis of amalgamation among European peoples. In 1910 the negro population of New York City was 91,709 or 1.9% of the total. Indians, Chinese, Japanese

tics gathered for such a community as New York would have to be supplemented and corrected by figures for smaller towns and cities and for rural districts. But here again, the ratio for the larger center would be, so to speak, the lower limit, or the minimum ratio. If fusion goes on in the bigger city, then, *a fortiori*, it will go on in the smaller place. All that is known of community life in minor centers and in rural districts tends to confirm this view. The more intimate contact with the much smaller native population, the heightened economic ability to marry, due to a less severe competition in earning a living, the lack of stimuli for a group consciousness (such as a large massing of the foreign born, the presence of intensely nationalistic leaders, the existence of communal institutions such as the press, the theater and special social welfare agencies meeting the needs of the immigrants apart from the general community) all these strongly suggest such an opinion, until evidence is presented to the contrary.

X

What then, are the significant facts bearing on the fusion of ethnic elements in a city like New York as shown by a study of more than 100,000 original marriage records over a five years period (1908-1912) before the war? ¹

Viewing the phenomenon of amalgamation in the and all others, together numbered 6,012. See *U. S. Census, 1910*, Popul. Vol. 1, p. 178, Table 37.

¹ For a detailed statement of the scope and method of this statistical study see Appendix A, Methodological Note, p. 241.

broadest way, namely, that of fusion among persons of different generations,¹ the first striking fact that appears is, that almost three-fourths of the intermarriages² (74.0%), both among men and among women take place between persons of the same generations. That is, the first generation tends to intermarry with the first, the second with the second.³

Upon reflection this would seem to be the natural result. Differences between generations are primarily differences in stage of assimilation. Strange as it may appear, immigrants of the first generation belonging to different national groups have more in common with one another than they have with persons of the second generation. But it is a sort of negative community of interest. The foreign-born man and woman both do not yet speak the language of the country well enough; both have not yet acquired the new habits of life, and still hark back in their thoughts and actions to the European environment. Both are in the first stages of

¹ The term "generation" here denotes not an age group, but a "nativity" and a "parentage" group; that is, it refers to the fact of the birth of a person in the United States or in a foreign country, whether of foreign born parents or of native born parents. Differences between persons of different "generations," then, do not mean differences of age, at all, but rather differences of traditions, social attitudes, outlooks, in short, differences of civilization and culture. The "first" generation would thus be the one furthest removed from what we think of as "American" life, the "second" generation would mark the transition period, the "third" generation would very nearly represent the "Americanized" product.

² For definition of the term "intermarriage" see Appendix A, Methodological Note, p. 250.

³ The reason for omitting the third generation is given in the note at the foot of Tables I and II, pp. 104-105.

TABLE II.—INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN PERSONS OF DIFFERENT GENERATIONS (1908-1912)

Women

Explanatory Notes:
See Table I, p. 104.

<i>Inter-marriages between</i>	<i>1st + 2nd + 3rd gen. Women</i>		<i>1st gen. (FBFP) Women</i>		<i>2nd gen. (NBFP) Women</i>		<i>2nd gen. (NBFP) Women</i>		<i>3rd gen. (NBFP) Women</i>		<i>3rd gen. (NBFP) Women</i>	
	<i>with</i>	<i>1st + 2nd + 3rd gen. Men</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>1st gen. (NBFP) Men</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>1st gen. (NBFP) Men</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>1st gen. (NBFP) Men</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>1st gen. (NBFP) Men</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>1st gen. (NBFP) Men</i>
<i>Generations</i>												
Number of Inter-marriages.....	10,835	5,170	1,018	61	2,847	1,497	67	45	83	47		
Per cent of Total No. of Inter-marriages....	100.0	47.7	9.4	.6	26.3	13.8	.6	.4	.8	.4		

¹ See Table I, p. 104.

a transition and both feel more at ease among persons of the first generation (even though these may be of a different nationality) than among persons of the second generation, who by their superior knowledge of the strange land and perhaps by a subtly condescending manner make the foreigners feel rather apart from the new currents of life. At any rate, this would seem a plausible explanation of the fact.

That persons of the second generation, though of different national descent, should group together in marriage, is still more easily understood. The irresistible leveling influences of American life have stamped persons of the second generation as unmistakably alike, even though but outwardly alike. They speak the same tongue, study in the same schools, dress, act and think alike.

This view is further affirmed by the fact that the proportion of intermarriage between persons of different generations decreases as the interval between the generations increases. This holds for both men and women. Out of almost 11,000 intermarriages (10,835) practically one-half (47.7%) were intermarriages between persons of the first generation. About three and a half times as many intermarriages occurred between first generation men and first generation women, as between first generation men and second generation women (47.7% and 13.8% respectively) and about two and a half times as many between second generation men and second generation women, as between second generation men and first generation women (26.3% and 9.4% respectively).¹

¹ See Table I, p. 104.

The figures for the women are similar. Intermarriages between first generation women and first generation men were almost five times as frequent as those between first generation women and second generation men (47.7% and 9.4% respectively) while about twice as many intermarriages occurred between second generation women and second generation men as between second generation women and first generation men (26.3% and 13.8% respectively.)¹

That this disparity in the proportions of intermarriage is not due to a disparity in the ratios of marriageable persons in the first and the second generations is evident, when it is found that the proportions of marriageable *men* of the *first* generation to marriageable *women* of the *first* generation (1.29:1) is almost the same as the proportion of marriageable *men* of the *first* generation to marriageable *women* of the *second* generation (1.22:1) and vice versa,² (.77:1 and .82:1). The powerful forces thus at work are undoubtedly the expression of sympathy and conform to the law that "the degree of sympathy decreases as the generality of resemblance increases."³

XI

But while the influences of cohesion undoubtedly make themselves felt within the generation groups in an unmistakable fashion, the forces of disruption are relentlessly undermining the solidarity of the immigrant communities. It comes somewhat as a surprise

¹ See Table II, p. 105.

² See Table A, p. 256.

³ F. H. Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, p. 108.

that out of every 100 marriages in New York City as many as 14 are intermarriages (13.59).¹ One would expect that with the great massing of foreign-born in separate communities and the consequent accentuation of group relationships, the ratio would be much less.

But this figure gives no hint of the wide gap between the intermarriage ratios of the first and of the second generations. Whereas among persons of the first generation about 11 per 100 seek mates outside of their own group (10.39% for men and 10.10% for women), among those of the second generation the proportion jumps to about 32 per 100 (32.40% for the men and 30.12% for the women). In other words, there is an increase of approximately 300% (311.8% for men and 298.2% for women).² The slight difference

¹ See Table III, p. 110. While as yet no figures are available for smaller communities, a reasonable estimate would put the proportion of intermarriage between one and a half and two times as high as in N. Y. City, or approximately 20%-30%.

² See Table III, p. 110.

If these proportions of intermarriage are applied to the total number of married persons (15 yrs. of age and over) in New York City in 1910 (*U. S. Census Abstract, with Supplement for New York*, p. 604, Table 16), the following figures are obtained:

(a) Number of married foreign-born white males (first generation) 575,460; number of males who intermarried (11%) 63,190.

(b) Number of married foreign-born white females (first generation) 521,855; number of females who intermarried (10%) 52,185; or approximately 115,375 foreign-born white persons (first generation) who intermarried.

(c) Number of married native white males of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation) 185,301; number of males who intermarried (33%) 61,769.

(d) Number of married native white females of foreign or mixed

between the men and the women might perhaps adequately be accounted for by the relatively greater mobility and aggressiveness of the men, and the greater conservatism of the women. But the striking increase for both in the second generation, calls for a more detailed explanation.

XII

What, then, are the possible hypotheses by which this basically important fact may be explained and which parentage (second generation) 216,223; number of females who intermarried (31%) 67,029; or *approximately 128,798 native white persons of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation) who intermarried.*

The *total number* of persons (first and second generations) who intermarried was *approximately 244,173.*

Treating the figures for the United States in a similar way (the intermarriage ratios for N. Y. City being assumed to be the *minimum* ratios) the results are:

(a) Number of married foreign-born white males (first generation) 4,432,298; number of males who intermarried (11%) 487,552.

(b) Number of married foreign-born white females (first generation) 3,624,215; number of females who intermarried (10%) 362,421; or *approximately 849,973 foreign-born white persons (first generation) who intermarried.*

(c) Number of married native white males of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation) 2,677,885; number of males who intermarried (33%) 883,702.

(d) Number of married native white females of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation) 3,008,927; number of females who intermarried (31%) 932,767; or *approximately 1,816,469 native white persons of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation) who intermarried.*

The *total number* of persons (first and second generations) then, who intermarried was *approximately 2,666,442.* (*U. S. Census, 1910, Vol. I, p. 518, Table 14.*)

TABLE III

PROPORTION OF INTERMARRIAGE ACCORDING TO SEX AND GENERATION
(1908-1912)

Explanatory Notes:

See Table I, p. 104.

	MEN				WOMEN			
	<i>Total</i>	<i>1st gen. (FBFP)</i>	<i>2nd gen. (NBFP)</i>	<i>3rd gen.¹ (NBNP)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1st gen. (FBFP)</i>	<i>2nd gen. (NBFP)</i>	<i>3rd gen.¹ (NBNP)</i>
Number of Marriages.....	79,704	64,577	12,184	2,943	79,704	61,823	14,611	3,270
Number of Intermarriages.....	10,835	6,714	3,948	173	10,835	6,249	4,411	175
Per Cent of Intermarriage.....	13.59	10.39	32.40	5.87	13.59	10.10	30.12	5.35

¹ See Table I, p. 104.

one of the hypotheses is most probable? It might be urged, first, particularly in reference to the men, that not having enough women of their own group in the second generation, they are compelled to seek wives among other groups. In other words, the disparity in the proportion of marriageable persons might account for the increased proportion of intermarriage. This is hardly tenable in the light of the facts. While there is a preponderance of marriageable men over marriageable women in the first generation, the discrepancy very largely disappears in the second generation, which shows the normal, approximately equal distribution of the sexes.¹ The sex ratio factor, then, might explain intermarriage among men of the first generation, but must be ruled out as an explanation for the second generation. In the case of women, it would seem inapplicable even for the first generation. For, with a preponderance of men over women, there would be no reason for women to leave their group in search of husbands, if the factor of sex ratio were the only one operating to determine choice.²

¹ Since figures of the proportion of marriageable persons for each nationality separately are not obtainable at present, it must suffice to establish the fact of the general preponderance in the first generation, of marriageable men over women and the definite approach to an equality of marriageable sex ratios in the second generation. This is clearly brought out by Tables B and C, pp. 257-258.

² There appear to be exceptions to this, where, in spite of the preponderance of marriageable men over women, the proportion of intermarriage among the women is higher. This would seem to be the case for the Austrian Poles, Slovaks, Irish, Bohemians, Finns, French, Norwegians and the Swedes. (See Table F,

XIII

As it is, possibly another influence might urge men and women of the *second* generation to intermarry more frequently than men and women of the *first* generation. The argument may run somewhat as follows: With higher economic status generally goes greater mobility. With greater mobility comes a wider circle of contacts, and inevitably a wider field of choice. Now, since persons of the second generation are

pp. 264.) If it were solely and exclusively the factor of the marriageable sex ratio that was operating in the first generation to determine choice, then in those groups where there is a preponderance of men over women, there ought to be no intermarriage whatsoever on the part of the women. The fact, however, that they do intermarry at all, indicates either that other forces are at work, or that the presence of a surplus of men of other nationalities in search of wives (in addition to the men of their own nationality) acts as an indirect compulsion or attraction to the women to leave their own groups.

In the cases of those groups where the women not only intermarry but intermarry more frequently than the men, in spite of the preponderance of men over women, the explanation may be that a certain percentage of the eligible men don't marry at all, either because they are not in a position economically or because they prefer not to *intermarry* and thus do not marry at all. This would tend to leave free an equal proportion of women. These again would be absorbed into the groups where the proportion of intermarrying men is higher than the proportion of intermarrying women. But since it is quite probable that even in the first generation other factors, besides that of the marriageable sex ratio, are operative, these explanations are undoubtedly incomplete.

In any event, the proof or disproof of these conjectures, must wait upon the gathering of more complete data, among other things the distribution of the specific immigrant groups according to sex and marital condition.

generally to be found in the higher economic classes, owing to their better acquaintance with the economic life of the country, they would thus be freed from the shackles of the lower economic existence and be permitted to move about, with greater probability of selecting a mate from among the people of other social groups with whom they come into contact. If, in addition, it be kept in mind that the economic ability to marry is probably higher in the second generation than in the first, a reasonable explanation might be found for the unusual increase in the ratio of intermarriage.

But it may be pointed out in reply, that *a priori* this hypothesis also appears rather improbable. In the first place, while it is true that lower income might act as a retarding cause of marriage, it does not actually seem to do so in the lower economic classes. On the other hand, with increase of income, other subtle social causes would seem to operate to reduce the frequency of marriage. Whatever decrease in marriages may occur in the first generation, is likely to be offset by a corresponding decrease in the second generation.

Such reasoning as this, however, is hardly sufficient to refute the proposed explanation. If it could be shown from actual records of intermarriages, that among intermarrying persons of the second generation there is a larger proportion of individuals who belong to the higher economic classes, than there is among intermarrying persons of the first generation, it could be fairly asserted that increased income *does* bring about an increased proportion of intermarriage.

Now what are the facts? From a comparative

study of the occupations of intermarrying persons of the first and second generations it appears that, while there is an increase in the proportion of individuals of the second generation within the higher economic groups (and a corresponding decrease in the lower groups) the increase is hardly large enough to account for the jump in the ratio of intermarriage.¹ The

¹ This is brought out in Table IV, p. 116, by a broad grouping of occupations of intermarrying persons into:

(a) Highest group (comprising persons in professional service) *1st generation*: 9.4% for men; 11.3% for women; *2nd generation*: 9.4% for men; 9.3% for women.

(b) Middle group (comprising persons in commerce and trade, and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits) *1st generation*: 54.2% for men; 34.1% for women; *2nd generation*: 63.0% for men; 66.4% for women.

(c) Lower group (comprising persons in personal and domestic service and the lower grades of public service) *1st generation*: 22.8% for men; 52.7% for women; *2nd generation*: 8.8% for men; 19.4% for women.

(d) Low group (comprising persons in agriculture, transportation and navigation) *1st generation*: 4.9% for men; 0% for women; *2nd generation*: 2.5% for men; 0% for women.

(e) Lowest group (comprising unskilled workers) *1st generation*: 8.7% for men; 1.9% for women; *2nd generation*: 16.3% for men; 4.9% for women.

For similar results see also Table O, p. 259, giving comparative proportions of intermarriage for 5,932 men (3,400 of the 1st generation and 2,532 of the 2nd generation) classified according to occupation groups.

The marked decrease for the second generation in the personal and domestic service group is due undoubtedly to the fact that these occupations are less frequently entered by "Americans" of the 2nd generation; while the unexpected increase in the unskilled groups indicates, no doubt, the prevalent lack of vocational training among young persons of the second generation, thus compel-

average increase, it will be remembered, is about 300%; but the full range of increase in the ratios of intermarriage is for men, from 103% to 1446.1%; for women, from 112.9% to 1293.1%.¹ It should be noted, however, that the economic factor seems to be more effectively at work among women than among men. The freer and more widespread participation of women of the second generation in the commercial and industrial life of the country doubtless creates a greater contrast between them and women of the first generation, than is to be found in this respect among the men, who are not so restricted in their economic activities. As the sphere of women in the economic world widens, this factor will grow increasingly stronger, particularly as sex propinquity in modern industry seems definitely to affect matings.²

ling many to enter "blind alley" occupations of which there is an abundance in a great city like New York.

For a comparative study of occupations of the first and second generations of immigrants in the United States, see *Reports of the Immigration Commission of 1911*, Vol. 28, particularly pp. 5-105.

Note: No comprehensive statistics have thus far been compiled on the distribution of occupation groups according to incomes. The classification used in Table IV, however, is in substantial agreement with the facts gathered by Frank H. Streightoff, in Chapter VI of *The Distribution of Incomes in the United States*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 52, 1912. See especially Tables XXIV-XXXVI, pp. 111-139.

¹ See Table F, p. 264.

² For a study of "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection" see article by Donald M. Marvin, in *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XVI, September, 1918, pp. 131-156.

TABLE IV

PROPORTION OF INTERMARRIAGE BY OCCUPATION AND GENERATION

(1908-1912)

OCCUPATION GROUP	TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES		1ST GEN. (FBFP)				2ND GEN. (NBFP)				3RD GEN. (% OF GRAND TOTAL NOT COM- PUTED. SEE NOTE, TABLE I, P. 104)	
	Men	Women	Men	% of Grand Total	Women	% of Grand Total	Men	% of Grand Total	Women	% of Grand Total	Men	Women
Professional Service.....	350	382	198	9.4	226	11.3	148	9.4	151	9.3	4	5
Commerce and Trade...	777	680	381	18.1	169	8.4	395	25.1	503	30.3	1	8

Mfg. and Mechanical Pursuits.....	1,362	1,126	760	36.1	518	25.7	596	37.9	601	36.1	6	7
Personal and Domestic Service.....	491	1,388	419	19.9	1,061	52.7	71	4.5	324	19.4	1	2
Pub. Service (Lower Grades).....	128	0	61	2.9	0	0	67	4.3	0	0	0	0
Agriculture ..	64	0	52	2.5	0	0	12	.8	0	0	0	0
Transportation.....	40	0	23	1.0	0	0	17	1.1	0	0	0	0
Navigation .	40	0	30	1.4	0	0	10	.6	0	0	0	0
Unskilled....	446	123	184	8.7	40	1.9	256	16.3	83	4.9	6	0
Grand Total	3,698	3,698	2,108	100.0	2,014	100.0	1,572	100.0	1,662	100.0	18	22

XIV

Now if neither disparity of the ratio of marriageable persons nor rise in economic status is an adequate explanation of the unusual increase in the proportion of intermarriage in the second generation, the only alternative left is to ascribe it to the weakening or destruction of the attitude of group solidarity. Once the subtle and numberless bonds that tie the individual to his traditional group are snapped, he is set adrift in a vast sea upon which float countless similar "kin-wrecked" folk. Choice of mates is then determined largely, if not wholly, by two factors: propinquity and physical attraction. The same forces that strengthen or weaken immigrant community life, are the forces that fortify or undermine this attitude of attachment to the group. The most important of these are:

Forces tending to strengthen immigrant community life

1. Geographic massing of immigrant population.

2. Stimulus by intensely nationalistic leaders, aided by crises in the fortunes of either the group in America or of the parent-group in the home-land.

3. Presence of numerous types of communal organizations ministering to the economic, educational and moral needs of the immigrants.

4. Personal affiliation with communal enterprises.

Forces tending to undermine immigrant community life

1. Dispersion of immigrant population.

2. Absence of intensely nationalistic leaders and normal conditions in the home-land.

3. Paucity or absence of communal organizations.

4. Lack of personal affiliation with communal enterprises.

Forces tending to strengthen immigrant community life

5. Transmission, through systematic education, of the cultural heritage of the group to the growing youth.

6. Conscious attempts by the thinkers of the group to formulate a theory of group-adjustment to American life.

Forces tending to undermine immigrant community life

5. Indifference and neglect on the part of the older generation with regard to transmission of cultural heritage to the younger generation.

6. Lack of critical thought within the group upon future relations to the new environment.

But after reflecting upon the nature of these forces and their influence upon the "second generation" the well-informed student of immigrant community life might point out that it is hardly accurate to speak of them as undermining or fortifying the attitude of group loyalty. For, in reality the "second generation" have no group attitude or loyalty that *can* be undermined or fortified. The whole trend of immigrant communal life in America has rather been to *prevent* the formation of *any* attitude of group attachment on the part of the younger generation. This criticism is not wholly beside the point, especially when it is remembered that the common characteristics of the "diluted" second generation are reputed to be on the one hand, a lack of knowledge and appreciation of the cultural heritage of their group and on the other hand, a lack of affiliation with specifically communal undertakings. Nor have most of the immigrant groups devised adequate educational methods to impart an understanding of their cultural background to their children.¹ In the main, however, the inevitable con-

¹ Even in such a highly self-conscious group as the Jews, re-

clusion would seem to be that the increased proportion of intermarriage in the second generation must be attributed almost wholly to the negation of the traditional personality.

XV

The relative efficacy, then, of the three factors in bringing about intermarriage may be summarized as follows: In the first generation the marriageable sex factor is strongest, the economic factor next (particularly for women) and the group consciousness factor third. In the second generation the order is reversed, the factor of group consciousness or rather the lack of it, being most prominent, the economic factor being second, and the marriageable sex factor playing the smallest rôle.

XVI

The facts presented thus far have had reference mainly to the relation between intermarriage and generation, irrespective of national descent. Equally characteristic results are obtained when the various nationalities are grouped according to the magnitude of their ratios of intermarriage. Beginning in Class I with nationalities that intermarry least frequently

ligious and cultural education of the youth is in a backward state. Of the 275,000 Jewish school children in N. Y. City in 1917, the total number receiving some form of Jewish education was 65,400. This is less than 24% of the estimated number of Jewish children of elementary school age. See A. M. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in N. Y. City*, Part II, Chapter I, The Extent of Jewish Education in N. Y. City, pp. 156-157.

and ending in Class V with those that fuse most readily, the array appears as follows:¹

TABLE V

CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONALITIES BY PROPORTION OF
INTERMARRIAGE

(*Men and Women of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Generations*)
(1908-1912)

Class I

(0 to 4.99 Intermarriages per 100 Marriages)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Roumania (Jew).....	.45
British West Indies (colored).....	.48
Russia (Jew).....	.62
Turkey (Jew).....	.80
Colored (combined groups).....	.93
Austria (Jew).....	.99
United States (colored).....	1.08
Jews (combined groups).....	1.17
Dutch West Indies (colored).....	1.44
Hungary (Jew).....	2.24
Cuba (colored).....	3.44 ²
England (Jew).....	3.47
Holland (Jew).....	4.00
United States (Jew).....	4.26
Syria.....	4.63

¹ For the number of cases upon which the computation of the proportions of intermarriage is based, see Statistical Supplement, Table F, p. 264.

² Based on less than 50 marriage records.

TABLE V—*Continued**Class II*

(5 to 9.99 Intermarriages per 100 Marriages)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Germany (Jew).....	5.16
Italy (not located)*.....	5.58
Italy (South).....	5.83
France (Jew).....	6.54
Italy (combined groups).....	6.76
Canada (colored).....	8.33 ¹
Hungary (Hungarian).....	8.59
Armenia.....	9.63

Class III

(10 to 24.99 Intermarriages per 100 Marriages)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Turkey.....	13.15
Roumania.....	13.51 ¹
Austria (Polish).....	13.56
Hungary (Slovak).....	14.09
Italy (North).....	16.73
Finland.....	16.82
Russia (Polish).....	20.25
Ireland.....	21.59
Germany (not located)*.....	21.68
Greece.....	22.14
Hungary (German).....	24.41

¹ Based on less than 50 marriage records.

* "Not located" refers to cases in which geographic location of birthplace in reference to North or South of the country was not ascertainable.

TABLE V—*Continued**Class IV*

(25 to 49.99 Intermarriages per 100 Marriages)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Austria (Bohemian).....	25.15
Sweden.....	31.04
Spain.....	33.11
Germany (combined groups).....	33.34
Austria (Italian).....	35.89 ¹
Norway.....	39.14
British West Indies (English).....	39.86
Denmark.....	47.42
France.....	49.55

Class V

(50 to 100 Intermarriages per 100 Marriages)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Porto Rico (Spanish).....	50.76
Germany (North).....	53.05
China.....	55.56 ¹
Germany (South).....	55.98
Wales.....	59.44
Belgium.....	59.63
Austria (German).....	59.71
Scotland.....	59.79
Holland.....	62.58
England.....	62.70
Switzerland (Italian).....	65.86 ¹
Switzerland (German).....	66.32
Japan.....	72.41 ¹

¹ Based on less than 50 marriage records.

TABLE V—*Continued**Class V—Continued*

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No. of Intermarriages per 100 Marriages</i>
Cuba (Spanish).....	73.73
Canada (French).....	75.60
Canada (English).....	79.85
Switzerland (French).....	82.08
Mexico (Spanish).....	87.50 ¹
Portugal.....	88.23
Serbia.....	100.00 ¹

Even a casual inspection of this table reveals at once distinct groupings at either end of the scale. Jews and Negroes are at the lowest point, while the Northern, Northwestern and Central European peoples tend to gather near the highest point. Contrary to general impression, the Italians seem higher and the Irish lower in the scale. The latter, together with the Poles (Russian and Austrian), the Slovaks, the Greeks and the Finns, occupy the middle-ground. This distribution with slight modifications was found to hold for both men and women, and for both the first and the second generations.

XVII

The explanation for the small proportion of intermarriage among the Jews is not far to seek.² From the

¹ Based on less than 50 marriage records.

² For an excellent discussion of intermarriage among the Jews both historically and statistically treated, see Arthur Rupp, *The Jews of Today*, Ch. X, Intermarriage, and Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews — A Study of Race and Environment*, Ch. VIII, Proselytism and Intermarriage Among Jews; Ch. IX, Mixed

earliest period in their history the leaders of the people, feeling almost instinctively the danger of extinction of a minority group, have steadfastly set their faces against fusion with non-Jews.¹ The strict prohibition of Ezra and Nehemiah (about 400 B. C.) was supplemented on the Christian side by the various edicts of the Church, beginning with that enacted by the Eastern Church at the Council of Chalcedon in 388 A. D. and followed by those of the Councils of Orleans (A. D. 538), Toledo (A. D. 589) and Rome (A. D. 743),² enjoining Christians from marrying Jews. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries when religious and social ostracism of the Jews began to slacken in its rigor, that intermarriage became a pronounced factor. All careful students of the problem³ agree that with the emancipation has come an increasing tendency to amalgamate

Marriages in Modern Times. A readable account of the arguments against intermarriage from the Jewish point of view is that of Dr. David De Sola Pool on "Intermarriage," *The Hebrew Standard*, Vol. LXXIII, No. 6, February 7, 1919.

¹ The prohibition against intermarriage is expressed in Deuteronomy, VII, 1-4, as follows: "When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall cast out many nations before thee . . . thou shalt make no covenant with them . . . neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. For he will turn away thy son from following Me that they may serve other gods; so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against thee and He will destroy thee quickly."

² See B. Feldman, *Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1910*, pp. 217-307. "Intermarriage Historically Considered."

³ Among them particularly Ruppin, Zollschan and Fishberg.

with the peoples among whom the Jews happened to live. This holds especially of the Western European countries. Ruppin, reviewing all available facts bearing upon intermarriage of Jews and Christians, groups the various countries into four classes:

1. Those where mixed marriages are less than 2%, as in Galicia, Bukovina, Roumania and the Jewish immigrant areas of England, France and the United States.

2. Those where the proportion of mixed marriages ranges from 2% to 10%, namely, Catholic Germany,¹ Hungary (excluding Budapest) and Bohemia.

3. Those where intermarriage goes on to the extent of from 10 to 30% of Jewish marriages (Protestant Germany,¹ Holland, Austria (Vienna and Budapest)).

¹ Figures for 1911 (three years before the Great War) present a striking contrast when compared with figures for 1915 (one year after the opening of the War). Of 4,449 Jewish men who married within the German Empire in 1911, 635 or 14.2% married non-Jewish women. The latter included 471 Protestants, 117 Roman Catholics, and 47 of other denominations. Of 4,267 Jewish women who married in the same year, 453 or 10.6% married non-Jewish men (302 Protestants, 111 Roman Catholics, 40 of other denominations.)

The 1915 figures are as follows: Of 1,842 Jewish men 744 or 40.3% married non-Jewish women (542 Protestants, 159 Roman Catholics, and 43 of other denominations). Of 1,497 Jewish women 399 or 26.6% married non-Jewish men (287 Protestants, 82 Roman Catholics and 30 of other denominations).

This means an increase in the proportion of intermarriage, of 283.8% for the men and of 250.9% for the women. What the causes of this unusual increase have been is difficult to conjecture. For tables from which the figures above have been compiled, see *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1913, p. 23, Table 5, and 1918, p. 7, Table 5.

4. Those where one-third of Jewish marriages are mixed marriages (Denmark, Australia, Italy and the older Jewish communities in England and France and the United States). The general and inescapable conclusion at which Ruppin arrives is: "The more Jews and Christians mix with one another in economic and social life, the more likely is it that they will intermarry with one another.¹ . . . The increasing spread of intermarriage is indeed not likely to be hindered by any race theories,² so long as the social differences between Christians and Jews are wiped out and the path to intermarriage made smooth."³ In the face of this rapid process of disintegration it is no surprise that strong counter-currents against complete amalgamation should have been created within the Jewish group as such. Apart from the argument of inexpediency or impracticability of mixed marriages⁴ (growing out of the incompatibility of traditional and cultural background in the family life), the more funda-

¹ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 170 and p. 171.

² Such as Dühring's notion that Jewish blood destroys the pure Aryan race and that there is a physiological antipathy between the Semite and the Aryan. Eugen Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Frage der Rassenschädlichkeit*. Also Eduard von Hartmann in *Das Judentum in Gegenwart and Zukunft*, pp. 6-8.

It is noteworthy that among the Jewish people arguments against intermarriage rarely, if ever, are of the biologic variety. With them the problem has been and is still primarily one of the integrity of Jewish home life, and therefore of the social solidarity of the Jewish people.

³ Ruppin, *op. cit.* p. 170 and p. 171.

⁴ Fishberg's conclusion is: "Mixed marriages are thus three to four times more likely to be dissolved than pure marriages," *op. cit.*, p. 217.

mental objection raised by many modern spokesmen of the Jewish people is that assimilation is a constant menace to the integrity of the group. Only a strong nationalist movement looking ultimately to the establishment of a home-land in Palestine can save them from final disappearance. The growing Zionist movement which embodies this aspiration, draws its vigor as much from this deep-seated dread of extinction as it does from the romantic idealism of the re-birth of a dead nationality.¹

For New York City, where one-half of the total Jewish population of the United States is concentrated, the ratio according to the data gathered for this study is less than 2% (1.17). It varies, however, with the particular country of origin and consequently the degree of assimilation of the section of Jewry considered. Thus, while among Roumanian Jews the proportion is .45% and among Russian Jews .62%, it rises to 4.26% among native-born Jews of native parents; to 5.16% among German Jews and to 6.54% among French Jews.²

The English Jews, with 3.47% seem to hold the middle ground. In the smaller cities and rural districts the extent of intermarriage is far greater, although exact figures are not available.³

¹ The Balfour Declaration of November 2nd, 1917, favoring the establishment of a Jewish home-land in Palestine has given the modern Zionist movement a concrete basis such as it has not had since its rise in the latter part of the 19th century.

² See Table V, p. 121.

³ Fishberg quotes the estimate of the director of circuit preaching of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as 5% in the northern parts of the United States, and 20% to 50%, most probably 33% in the south. Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews*, pp. 203-204.

XVIII

Just as difference of religion explains adequately the low proportion of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, so difference of color accounts for the small proportion of fusion between negro and white. There can be no doubt that the amalgamation of the two races, especially in the southern states, is going on, and that there is already a considerable mulatto population.¹ In the North, however, in spite of the absence of laws against miscegenation, the proportion seems to be negligible and perhaps also on the decline.² In New York City, for a period of five years (1908-1912) the ratio was 1.08%. For colored men it was 1.78%, for colored women, .44%. In other words, the men intermarried about four times as frequently as the women.³ As the

¹ See F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Ch. X, Race Problems in the United States, pp. 275-276.

² See Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line*, p. 172: "Although the Negro population of Boston has been steadily increasing, the number of marriages between the races, which remained about stationary from 1875 to 1890, has since 1900 been rapidly decreasing. Here are the exact figures as given by the Registry Department:

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGES IN BOSTON

Year	Groom Col. Bride White	Groom White Bride Col.	Total mixed Marriages	Year	Groom Col. Bride White	Groom White Bride Col.	Total mixed Marriages
1900	32	3	35	1903	27	2	29
1901	30	1	31	1904	27	1	28
1902	25	4	29	1905	17	2	19

For further evidence tending to show the decline in racial intermarriages see Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, pp. 198-200.

³ See Table F, p. 264.

question stands now, it is, in the opinion of an acknowledged negro leader "of little practical importance. For, in practice, the matter works itself out; the average white person does not marry a Negro, and the average Negro, despite his theory, himself marries one of his race, and frowns darkly on his fellows unless they do likewise. In those very circles of Negroes who have a large infusion of white blood, where the freedom of marriage is most strenuously advocated, white wives have always been treated with a disdain bordering on insult, and white husbands never received on any terms of social recognition." ¹

XIX

It would be only reasonable to expect that among groups where barriers of religion and color were not marked, fusion should proceed rather rapidly. This expectation appears to be borne out by the fact that the highest proportion of intermarriage is found among the Northern, North Western and some of the Central European nationalities.² Here, except for the possible prejudice between Protestant and Catholic, no serious obstacles exist in the way of amalgamation. Besides, the longer period of residence in the United States of these older immigrant groups has undoubtedly further predisposed them to the assimilating process.

But upon a closer examination of the figures, another

¹ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro, A Social Study*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Political Economy and Public Law, No. 14, p. 359.

² See Table V, p. 121.

and perhaps simpler explanation of the high proportion of intermarriage suggests itself.

Arranging the various nationalities in language groups, or what are broadly speaking cultural groups,¹ the Teutonic peoples were found to fuse most with Teutonic groups, apparently because there is a considerable assortment of Teutonic language groups present in the population. In other words, while the Northern and North Western peoples show a high ratio of intermarriage, this occurs predominantly within the same language or cultural group. In practically every case where a Teutonic nationality intermarried with other groups, almost one-half of the number of nationalities intermarried with, were found to fall within the Teutonic group. This was clearly not so in the other language groups, apparently because there is a much smaller representation of similar language classes present in the population.² Three general factors, then, might be cited in explanation of the relatively high degree of amalgamation of the Northern and North Western European immigrants: lack of racial and religious barriers, comparatively

¹ For the scheme of classification of language groups used, see article in *National Geographic Magazine*, Dec., 1918, by Edwin H. Grosvenor, "The Races of Europe."

² The number of nationalities represented in the various language groups was as follows: Teutonic—12; Slavic—5; Greco-Latin—13; Celtic—2; Finno-Ugrian—2; Syro-Arabic—2; Iranian—2; Turkish—1. There were also included two racial groups, black (Negro) and yellow, the latter represented by 2 groups, the Chinese and Japanese, while the former were represented by British West Indian, Canadian, Cuban and Dutch West Indian Negroes.

long period of settlement in the United States, and the presence of a fairly numerous variety of similar language or cultural groups in the population. Exactly what share is contributed to the production of the amalgamating process by each of these factors, is extremely difficult to calculate and because of incomplete data about the immigrant populations hardly possible.

XX

With some modifications, the explanation for the Teutonic groups would hold for the Italians and the Irish, who occupy the middle position in the series. A shorter period of residence in America, together with a constant shifting, characteristic of much of the migratory Italian population, as also a somewhat lower social prestige among the immigrant groups, would go far to explain the low position of the Italians in the scale; while strong religious preferences among the Irish may have tended to keep their ratio of intermarriage lower than their period of residence and their traditional sociability would lead one to expect.

XXI

Closely connected with the characteristic groupings of the nationalities according to ratio of intermarriage, are the further facts of the increase of proportion of intermarriage of the second generation over the first. The general statement is easily borne out that the lower the ratio of intermarriage in the first generation the greater the ratio in the second and therefore the greater the relative increase.¹ If the nationalities are

¹See Table F, p. 264.

grouped according to proportions of increase, the Jews, who have the lowest ratio for the first generation, are found in the higher increase groups, while the Northern, North Western and some of the Central European peoples fall into the lower increase groups. This holds also for the Italian and for the Irish.¹

For the Jews as a combined group, the ratio for the first generation is .64%; for the second generation, 4.51%—an increase of a little over 700% (704.6%). In other words, in the second generation, Jews intermarry about seven times as frequently as in the first. It must, however, be added that while the proportional increase is very great, the absolute number of intermarriages is comparatively insignificant.¹ Among Jewish men the increase is far greater than among Jewish women.² The country of origin, too, indicating as it does the stage of assimilation and the length of residence in the United States, produces differences in the proportion of intermarriage and in the increases. Thus, among Russian Jews, comparatively recent arrivals, the ratios are: .36% for the 1st generation (men .26%; women .47%); 3.40% for the second generation (men 3.76%; women 3.14%). The average increase here is 944.4%. Among the German Jews, however, an older and more assimilated section of Jewry, the amalgamating process has already reached a higher level and therefore the break between the first and the second generations is much less marked.

¹ See Statistical Appendix, Table D, p. 264.

² Men: 1st generation, .50%; 2nd generation, 5.6%—increase of 1,134%. Women: 1st generation, .78%; 2nd generation, 3.58%—increase of 458.9%. See Table F, p. 264.

The figures here show that in the first generation the number of mixed marriages per 100 marriages is 3.74 (men 4.83%; women 2.62%); in the second generation 6.02% (men 8.85%; women 2.96%). The increase of the second generation over the first, then, amounts to only 160.9% as compared with 944.4% among the Russian Jews.

For the Germans, Dutch, English, Canadians (English and French), Swiss, Welsh, Scotch, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Bohemians, Poles (Austrian and Russian), with a high proportion of intermarriage, the per cent of increase is between 100% and 300%.

For the Irish as a group, it is somewhat over 200% (233.7%), the men showing a higher increase than the women¹ because the proportion of intermarriage among them in the first generation is lower than among the women.

The Italians, standing midway between the Irish and the Jews, show increases of 300% to 700%,² the average increase for the group as a whole being 330.6%.

One reason why in the groups showing high proportions of intermarriage, the percentage of increase is lower than that for the low-proportioned groups, is undoubtedly the range within which the increase can take place. Where the ratio of intermarriage is high to begin with (*i. e.*, in the first generation) the range is already narrowed and the possible proportionate

¹ Men: 1st generation, 9.61%; 2nd generation, 29.85%—increase of 310.6%. Women: 1st generation, 18.66%; 2nd generation, 38.31%—increase of 205.3%. See Table F, p. 264.

² See Table F, p. 264.

increase limited. Where the initial ratio of intermarriage is low, there is a much wider interval between it and the maximum point (100%) and therefore a wider range for any possible increase. The mere fact, however, of the wider range does not of itself produce the larger increase. It only makes increase possible should forces be at work tending to create the increase. There is thus an added significance in the striking rise in proportion of intermarriage in such groups as the Jews and the Italians. The forces of disruption among them are relatively more powerful than among the higher groups where these forces have already accomplished much of their work. The suddenness and magnitude of the break between first and second generations are greater, and the corresponding strain upon group solidarity, with its accompaniment of a heightened group consciousness, more intense. If, in addition, it be remembered that the intermarriage index is only a *minimum* index of group disintegration, the full meaning of the large increase becomes vividly clear.

XXII

The process of fusion characterized thus far, naturally implies amalgamation with numerous distinct national groups. With a large increase in the proportion of intermarriage, such as is the distinguishing feature of the second generation, the simple deduction might be made that the number of nationalities with which each group intermarries in the second generation, would also correspondingly increase. This, however, is far from being the case. On the contrary,

there is a definite reduction in the number of nationalities intermarried with. A curious process of narrowing down seems to take place. Whereas in the first generation the average number of distinct nationalities with which persons of a group intermarry is 12 (both for the men and for the women) this is cut in half for the second generation (6, both for the men and for the women) as shown by the table on page 137.

XXIII

If now the question be raised which nationalities it is that are thus apparently selected or preferred in intermarriage, the inquiry reveals that it is primarily the Northern and North Western European peoples. Of the thirteen nationalities selected most often, nine are Northern and North Western European groups. Whether or not this selection had the character of conscious choice is extremely difficult to determine.

The inclusion in the list of Germans, Irish, Italians and Jews, suggests that since these peoples are the most numerous in the population of New York City, it was perhaps the presence in larger numbers of representatives of the selected nationalities that mainly determined the frequency of the choice.¹ If to these four groups be added the other nationalities selected, the preferred groups together are found to have been almost 60% of the total population of the city.² But

¹ These four nationalities and their native-born descendants constituted 50.8% of the total population of N. Y. City in 1910 (2,422,418 out of 4,766,883). See *U. S. Census, 1910*.

² 57.1% (2,722,547 out of 4,766,833). This excludes the Austrian Poles for whom no separate figures are given.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF DISTINCT NATIONALITIES WITH WHICH PERSONS OF VARIOUS IMMIGRANT GROUPS INTERMARRIED

<i>Nationalities Intermarrying</i>	<i>No. of Distinct Nationalities with which</i>		<i>No. of Distinct Nationalities with which</i>	
	<i>1st Gen. Men</i>	<i>2nd Gen. Men</i>	<i>1st Gen. Women</i>	<i>2nd Gen. Women</i>
	<i>Intermarried</i>		<i>Intermarried</i>	
1. Armenia.....	8	1	0	0
2. Austria (Boh.)..	6	7	20	9
3. Austria (Ger.)..	21	9	24	12
4. Austria (Ital.)..	6	0	3	0
5. Austria (Pol.)..	12	9	23	13
6. Belgium.....	15	5	17	6
7. British W. I. (Col.)	5	0	1	0
8. British W. I. (Eng.)	11	0	0	0
9. Canada (Col.)..	1	0	0	0
10. Canada (Eng.)..	18	17	17	18
11. Canada (Fr.)...	9	8	8	7
12. China.....	7	1	0	0
13. Cuba (Col.)....	1	0	1	0
14. Cuba (Span.)...	12	5	10	5
15. Denmark.....	19	11	17	10
16. Dutch W. I. (Col.)	0	0	1	1
17. England.....	27	21	30	21
18. Finland.....	12	1	15	3
19. France.....	21	15	33	18
20. Germany (not located).....	27	28	29	29
21. Germany (North)	22	6	24	9
22. Germany (South)	23	7	26	11
23. Greece.....	21	1	4	0
24. Holland.....	19	10	14	7
25. Hungary (Ger.) .	13	2	13	4
26. Hungary (Hung.)	7	0	11	2
27. Hungary (Slovak)	11	4	32	11
28. Ireland.....	25	27	46	36
29. Italy (not located)	26	20	17	18
30. Italy (North)...	17	3	10	1
31. Italy (South)...	22	3	12	3
32. Japan.....	12	0	0	0
33. Mexico (Span.) .	9	1	0	0
34. Norway.....	16	9	22	10
35. Porto Rico (Span.)	14	1	5	0
36. Portugal.....	6	3	0	0
37. Roumania.....	4	0	0	0
38. Russia (Pol.)...	12	5	13	5
39. Serbia.....	5	0	0	0
40. Scotland.....	20	13	23	17
41. Spain.....	18	6	13	5
42. Sweden.....	19	12	30	13
43. Switzerland (Ger.)	18	11	25	12
44. Switzerland (Fr.)	7	0	8	2
45. Switzerland (Ital.)	3	1	3	0
46. Syria.....	4	0	3	0
47. Turkey.....	14	2	2	0
48. Wales.....	8	3	5	7
49. Austria (Jew)...	9	6	10	7
50. England (Jew)...	3	2	3	2
51. France (Jew)...	0	4	1	0
52. Germany (Jew)...	9	13	5	6
53. Holland (Jew)...	2	2	0	0
54. Hungary (Jew)...	9	4	20	5
55. Roumania (Jew)...	3	0	2	2
56. Russia (Jew)...	18	9	10	13
57. Turkey (Jew)...	2	0	1	0
Average No. of Nationalities Intermarried with.....	12	6	12	6

TABLE VII

NATIONALITIES SELECTED IN INTERMARRIAGE BY PERSONS OF THE SECOND GENERATION (NEFP)

(This table is based upon selections made by men of 36 different nationalities and women of 29 different nationalities)

Nationality Selected	Number of times selected nationality occurs in intermarriages of persons of the second generation	
	Men of 36 nationalities selecting Women of a different group	Women of 29 nationalities selecting Men of a different group
Germany.....	Selected by Men of 26 out of 36 nationalities	Selected by Women of 26 out of 29 nationalities
Ireland.....	" " 26 " " " "	" " 26 " " " "
England.....	" " 18 " " " "	" " 20 " " " "
Austria (Pol.).....	" " 16 " " " "	" " 10 " " " "
Scotland.....	" " 16 " " " "	" " 10 " " " "
France.....	" " 14 " " " "	" " 17 " " " "
Italy.....	" " 14 " " " "	" " 14 " " " "
Canada (Engl.).....	" " 13 " " " "	" " 20 " " " "
Sweden.....	" " 12 " " " "	" " 11 " " " "
Denmark.....	" " 11 " " " "	" " 13 " " " "
Jewish.....	" " 11 " " " "	" " 9 " " " "
Norway.....	" " 11 " " " "	" " 15 " " " "
Austria (Ger.).....	" " 9 " " " "	" " 8 " " " "
Switzerland (Ger.).....	" " 9 " " " "	" " 7 " " " "
Holland.....	" " 8 " " " "	" " 3 " " " "
Hungary (Slovak).....	" " 8 " " " "	" " 10 " " " "
Canada (Fr.).....	" " 7 " " " "	" " 6 " " " "
Finland.....	" " 7 " " " "	" " 7 " " " "
Austria (Boh.).....	" " 6 " " " "	" " 4 " " " "
Cuba (Span.).....	" " 6 " " " "	" " 7 " " " "
U. S. (Col.).....	" " 6 " " " "	" " 4 " " " "
Belgium.....	" " 5 " " " "	" " 6 " " " "
Russia (Pol.).....	" " 5 " " " "	" " 5 " " " "
Hungary (Ger.).....	" " 4 " " " "	" " 7 " " " "
Hungary (Hung.).....	" " 4 " " " "	" " 3 " " " "
Wales.....	" " 4 " " " "	" " 1 " " " "
Portugal.....	" " 3 " " " "	" " 3 " " " "
Spain.....	" " 3 " " " "	" " 2 " " " "
B. W. I. (Col.).....	" " 2 " " " "	" " 6 " " " "

it would be hazardous to try to apportion an exact share of influence to this factor of population because no reliable data on the proportion of marriageable persons of both sexes in these individual groups are available. Thus the important question as to whether this apparent selection of a smaller number of nationalities with which to intermarry is due to genuine, conscious preference or is rather an enforced choice, must remain unanswered for the present. However, it is not an unreasonable hypothesis to state that in addition to the population factor, the higher social prestige of the Anglo-Saxon groups, due to longer residence and economic stability may also, to a certain extent, have been an attractive force determining choice. Whatever the full explanation, the fact remains that persons of the second generation who intermarry, marry into a narrower circle of national groups than those of the first generation, that this circle is predominantly North European and that it is this group of nationalities that is being diluted more than any other.

XXIV

Upon two other problems do the facts recorded in the marriage certificates throw some light. The question may be asked: Under what economic and social conditions is the amalgamation proceeding? Are these conditions, on the whole, favorable or unfavorable? Closely related to this is the second question: On what cultural levels do the intermarriages take place? Is it the intellectuals that fuse most often, or is it the untutored? Or is it both, as is

frequently asserted from general observation; or do the facts reveal the opposite state of affairs?

The answers cannot be brought out by direct evidence, but by the indirect testimony gathered from the occupations of the persons intermarrying. Considering persons employed in professional service, in commerce, in manufacturing and in mechanical pursuits as belonging to the higher economic classes,¹ it is found that over two-thirds of the intermarriages among men (67.3%) and a little less than 60% (59.2%) among women fall within these groups. The economic plane, then, upon which the fusion is taking place is rather high.

Turning to the second question: if by "culture" is meant something practically synonymous with "education" and particularly education in the broad subjects of literature, the arts and the natural and social sciences, then it is possible on the basis of occupation to classify the intermarrying persons broadly according to "culture groups." The highest "culture group" would then be represented by persons in professional service, the lowest by those in unskilled work. Persons in commerce and trade, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and personal and domestic service would constitute the middle or mediocre "culture group." Below this group (though here some exception might be taken) would be those in the lower grades of public service, agriculture, transportation and navigation.² The assumption underlying such a

¹ For a classification of occupations into economic groups, see p. 114, note 1.

² See Table IX, p. 144.

TABLE VIII.—PROPORTION OF INTERMARRIAGE BY OCCUPATION GROUPS (1908-1912)

MEN			WOMEN																	
Occupation Group	Total Number of Intermarriages	% of Grand Total	Professional Service	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Commerce and Trade	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Personal and Domestic Service	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Public Service (lower grades)	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Agriculture (including Horticulture)	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Transportation	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Navigation	% of Total Number of Intermarriages	Unskilled	% of Total Number of Intermarriages
Professional Service.....	350	9.5	146	41.7	55	15.7	72	20.6	74	21.1									3.	.9
Commerce and Trade.....	777	21.0	88	11.3	236	30.4	229	29.5	210	27.0									14	1.8
Mfg. and Mechanical Pursuits.....	1,362	36.8	85	6.3	229	16.8	514	37.7	498	36.6									36	2.6
Personal and Domestic Service.....	491	13.3	27	5.5	51	10.4	115	23.4	281	57.2									17	3.5
Pub. Service (lower grades)	128	3.5	3	2.4	26	20.3	41	32.1	54	42.1									4	3.1
Agriculture (including Horticulture)	64	1.7	6	9.4	4	6.3	7	10.9	47	73.4									0	0
Transportation	40	1.1	4	10.0	9	22.5	13	32.5	14	35.0									0	0
Navigation.....	40	1.1	4	10.0	4	10.0	14	35.0	17	42.5									1	2.5
Unskilled.....	446	12.0	19	4.2	66	14.8	124	27.8	193	43.3									44	9.8
Grand Total.....	3,698		382		680		1,129		1,388										119	
% of Grand Total.....	100.0		10.3		18.4		30.5		37.6										3.2	

classification is that the lower the income, the lower the "culture group," because the less has been the opportunity to acquire a broad education. At the same time, it is to be clearly understood that lack of "culture" in this sense does not, of course, imply lack of native capacity. The two may, and often do, exist entirely independently of each other.

Looked at in this light the striking fact emerges that the large majority of intermarrying persons come from neither the highest nor the lowest "culture groups." It is rather on the level of the mediocre cultural plane that the greatest amount of amalgamation is to be found. Of nearly 3,700 men who intermarried, 9.5% were in professional service, the highest "culture group," 12% were unskilled workers, the lowest "culture group." Those in commerce and trade, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and personal and domestic service together made up 71.1% of the total number of intermarriages. In other words, almost three-fourths of the mixed marriages were in the mediocre culture groups. For the women this holds even more clearly. In the highest group, the proportion was 10.3%, in the lowest, 3.2%, in the middle groups 86.5%. It may be presumed that in the higher group it is a high degree of cultural self-consciousness that prevents fusion, in the lower group it is strong prejudices. In the middle groups where neither one nor the other is pronounced, and where constant contact in daily work levels differences, the amalgamation proceeds most easily and most rapidly.

TABLE IX.—PROPORTION OF INTERMARRIAGE BY OCCUPATION AND CULTURE GROUPS (1908-1912)

MEN				WOMEN								
				CULTURE LEVEL								
Culture Level	Occupation Group	Total No. of Inter-marriages	% of Grand Total	High	Mediocre			Low			Very Low	
				Professional Service	Commerce and Trade	Mfg. and Mechanical Pursuits	Pers'l & Domestic Service	Public Service (lower grades)	Agriculture (including Horticulture)	Transportation	Navigation	Unskilled
High	Professional Service	350	9.5	146	55	72	74					3
	Commerce and Trade	777	21.0	88	236	229	210					14
	Mfg. and Mechanical Pursuits	1,362	36.8	85	229	514	498					36
	Personal and Domestic Service	491	13.3	27	51	115	281					17
Low	Public Service (lower grades)	128	3.5	3	26	41	54					4
	Agriculture (including Horticulture)	64	1.7	6	4	7	47					
	Transportation	40	1.1	4	9	13	14					
	Navigation	40	1.1	4	4	14	17					1
Very low	Unskilled	446	12.0	19	66	124	193					44
	Grand Total	3,698		382	680	1,129	1,388					119
	% of Grand Total		100.0	10.3	18.4	30.5	37.6					3.2

XXV

The facts for New York City presented in this chapter must, of course, be supplemented by figures for smaller communities and for rural districts. Moreover, analyses such as are here attempted, must be further refined and elaborated. Only thus can the student of assimilation in America hope to secure a clear insight into this elusive and yet very real problem of the national life.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATIONS

I

Remembering that with certain modifications the data for Greater New York are applicable to the country as a whole, the significant facts can be summarized as follows:

(1) The ratio of intermarriage for men and women of all nationalities, as a group, is about 14 (13.59) out of every 100 marriages [10,835 intermarriages out of 79,704 marriages].

(2) There is a strong tendency for intermarriages to occur within identical generations. The first generation tends to intermarry with the first, the second generation with the second.

(3) The proportion of intermarriage between persons of different generations decreases as the interval between the generations increases. Thus, intermarriages are more frequent between *men* of the *first* generation and *women* of the *first* generation, than between *men* of the first generation and *women* of the *second* generation. This is true also of intermarriages between *men* of the *second* generation and *women* of the *second* generation, as compared with intermarriages between *men* of the *second* generation and *women* of the *first* generation.

(4) In the second generation, both men and women,

each considered as a group, irrespective of national descent, intermarry approximately three times as often as men and women of the first generation. In other words, the increase in the proportion of intermarriage of the second generation over the first is about 300%.

(5) The ratio of intermarriage for women is slightly lower than that for men.

(6) There are three main forces at work in each group tending to produce amalgamation with other groups: preponderance of marriageable men over marriageable women, rise in economic status, and diminution in the intensity of the group consciousness or in the attitude of group solidarity. In the first generation, the first of these factors is most effective; in the second generation the last plays the most important rôle. The factor of economic status remains about constant between the other two.

(7) With regard to the ratio of intermarriage, the various nationalities range themselves in an ascending scale. Of the most important groups represented, the Jews and the Negroes are lowest, the Italians are next, the Irish are higher than the Italians, and the Northern, North Western and some Central European peoples are highest.

(8) Distinctions of religion and of color, respectively, account for the low proportion of intermarriage among Jews and Negroes. Lack of these barriers and the presence of a numerous variety of similar cultural groups in the population accelerate the fusion of the Northern and North European peoples. A shifting population and a somewhat lower social prestige prevent the Italian from rising higher in the scale as yet.

Strong religious preferences tend to limit the range of intermarriage among the Irish who otherwise might be higher in the scale.

(9) The lower the ratio of intermarriage in the first generation, the greater the tendency for the ratio to be high in the second generation, and consequently the greater the tendency for the proportion of increase to be high. For the lowest group, the Jews, the increase is a little over 700%; for the middle groups, the Italians and the Irish, it is somewhat over 300% and somewhat over 200% respectively; for the Northern, North Western and some Central European peoples it is from 100% to 300%.

(10) While in the second generation there is a striking increase in the proportion of intermarriage, there is a correspondingly striking decrease in the number of nationalities with which individuals of the second generation intermarry. The average number of nationalities for the first generation (for both men and women) is 12; for the second generation (for both men and women) it is 6.

(11) The apparent process of selection in the second generation results in the choice of a group of nationalities predominantly Northern and North Western European. This choice may be determined primarily by the preponderance of Teutonic population elements or by a combination of this with the factor of higher social prestige and economic stability of these groups.

(12) More than two-thirds of the intermarriages among men and over 60% among women take place in the higher economic classes.

(13) The largest number of intermarriages are those

between persons who are neither on the lower nor the higher culture level, but on the middle or mediocre culture plane. Thus, three-fourths of the men who intermarry are found in the occupation groups corresponding to the middle level, namely, in commerce and trade, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and in personal and domestic service, while only about 10% are professional men and about 12% unskilled workers. The same is true of the women who intermarry, almost 87% of them being found in the middle occupation and culture groups.

The facts enumerated here show one thing almost conclusively. Amalgamation of the European peoples in the United States is going on, and gathering momentum on the way. But while the facts themselves may be incontrovertible, their meaning may vary with the point of view adopted for their interpretation.

II

To the extreme advocate of ethnic purity they may point to a fatal "mongrelization" of the American people proceeding at a dangerously rapid pace. According to this view, an intermarriage ratio of 14 per 100 (and probably much higher in the smaller communities and rural sections), with a range of increase in the second generation of from 100% to 1000%; the rapid dilution particularly of the North European stocks, the disproportionate fusion in the middle economic groups, producing a drab cultural product—facts such as these are so much fuel to feed the fires of the alarmist.

When carried to a logical limit this point of view

must result in a complete restriction of immigration on the one hand, and in the deliberate intensification of group consciousness among immigrant peoples on the other. The aim of the first policy would be to cut off the inflow of all additional ethnic groups that must needs be fused with those already here. The second policy would be calculated to reduce materially the present rate of amalgamation, and tend to hold it down to a minimum.

That such a program of public policy has not been consistently advocated in its entirety is proof rather of lack of comprehensive and logical thought on the part of the supporters of this extreme view, than of their eagerness to prevent a further racial debasement of the American people. But even if such a doctrine were to be offered as a worthy national aim, it is hard to see what specific methods could be adopted to carry it into operation. Of course, total restriction of immigration, which has repeatedly been urged on these grounds, could be achieved through legislative means, though with the traditional liberalism of the American people in this regard, such a law, even if enacted, could hardly withstand for any length of time the onslaughts of the advocates of free immigration, or at any rate remain unmodified. The real difficulty would come in translating the second half of the plan into practice. For, to encourage and intensify group consciousness among the immigrant peoples for the purpose of preventing fusion would, from the standpoint of the extreme racialist, mean a fostering of religious, ethnic and national prejudices. Through what medium is this to be accomplished? The government, the school, the

church, the press, or all of them combined? It is safe to say that even the most radical advocate of ethnic purity would hardly crave this unenviable rôle of an avowed apostle of inter-racial and international antagonisms. Even if the fundamental assumption involved were tenable, namely, the fact of ethnic deterioration resulting from fusion, the proposed policy would be its own strongest refutation because of the manifestly unethical and impractical methods needed to carry it into effect.

III

But while there is no specific evidence as yet to disprove the harmful effects of intermarriage among the various divergent varieties of the European peoples in America, it appears reasonably certain, judging from general biologic principles and from results in analogous historical processes, that such amalgamation is not only *not* harmful but may even be highly desirable.¹ At any rate, the danger of "mongrelization" is quite remote, especially as the fusion is taking place under rather favorable economic and social conditions.² Building upon such premises as these, the ideal of ethnic homogeneity and consequent thorough social assimilation, achieved through a rapid and thorough mixture of the immigrant peoples, may be opposed to that of ethnic isolation.³ If now the facts are inter-

¹ See Chapter IV, pp. 93-95.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

³ See Jerome Dowd, "The Racial Element in Social Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 16, July-May, 1910-1911. "Complete social assimilation cannot take place without racial amalgamation. Races that do not intermarry do not mingle

preted from this point of view, the advocate of ethnic amalgamation finds much encouragement but also much that remains to be achieved. For, his argument may shape itself thus: An intermarriage ratio of 14 per 100 in a city like New York is rather high, but in view of the ever-present tendency towards the formation of self-sufficient immigrant colonies, it is not by any freely socially, and without the stimulus of free social life complete assimilation or socialization is impossible." P. 633.

"There are three tentative laws which seem to follow from this distinction between personal and social imitations: (1) That social democracy is the only condition of complete assimilation of the higher culture; (2) That races on a high but different culture level may assimilate each other's culture to the advantage of both, but a complete assimilation of the highest of the two races will be impossible without intermarriage; (3) That a high and a low culture race without intermarriage cannot come in contact without injury to the latter, because the social imitations will take on an excessive development and result in physical and moral disintegration." P. 635.

Popular echoings of the idea that true assimilation is impossible without racial fusion can be heard in the controversies upon the various race problems in America. Thus U. S. Senator James D. Phelan of California, in answer to a protest of the Japanese peace delegate at the Paris Conference that Japan is "too proud to accept a place of admitted inferiority," wrote: "This confuses the issue because the question of inferiority is not involved. The Japanese are racially different. By the laws of nature they cannot improve the Japanese stock nor the white stock by intermarriage. The evils of both races are developed in the offspring. This is a well-known physiological fact. It has been well said that a democracy is impossible without equality, and that equality is not possible where the people cannot freely intermarry and produce a homogeneous race." Statement telegraphed by Senator Phelan to *N. Y. Times*, April 4, 1919, in answer to a protest by Baron Makino, delegate of Japan at the Paris Peace Conference.

means high enough. True, there is a creditable increase of approximately 300% in intermarriage among the second generation, and a broad range of increase up to 1000%. But it would be preferable to have a fairly high *uniform* rate of fusion, rather than some nationalities with a low index of intermarriage at one end of the scale and others with a high index at the other end, as is the case at present. The children of the immigrants must amalgamate even faster than they are doing now, if a homogeneous American people is to be created within the shortest possible period of time. Moreover, he may continue, while fusion among the various nationalities is indeed going on, it is nevertheless very largely within identical generations. First generation mixes with first, and second generation with second. There is a tendency to fix certain general habits of life reminiscent of the old world rather than of the new. Should immigration continue, this tendency would be further aggravated. A thorough-going fusion would involve a much more frequent crossing of the generation lines than is indicated by the figures, and would thus facilitate further the process of assimilation of the foreign-born and the native-born. This applies with equal force to the number of nationalities with which persons of each group intermarry. Instead of reduction of the number in the second generation, as appears to be the case now, there should be even a greater dispersion or at least the same scattering of intermarriages among various groups as there is in the first generation. Furthermore, he may argue, while it is reassuring to discover that it is in the higher economic groups that two-thirds of the intermarriages oc-

cur, the aim must be to raise this proportion to even a higher level in order to safeguard absolutely the process of amalgamation as far as its economic and social setting is concerned. And finally, as to the fact that it is the mediocre culture groups which show the largest proportion of intermarriage rather than the highest and the lowest groups. From the point of view of the thorough-going miscegenationist it makes comparatively little difference what the relative proportions are. The supreme aim is to produce a perfect blend of ethnic stocks.¹ Cultural contributions, being primarily dependent on native capacity for culture-building, will result naturally from a virile and versatile mixed people. Even if in the rapid process of fusion the cultural achievements of the mixing peoples should be largely discarded, and there should result a temporary general lowering of the culture level of the

¹ This seems to be the ideal of a large group of workers in the Americanization Movement. See, for example, the statement of Frances A. Kellor: "Americanization is the science of racial relations in America, dealing with the assimilation and amalgamation of diverse races in equity into an integral part of its national life. By assimilation is meant the indistinguishable incorporation of the races into the substance of American life. By amalgamation is meant so perfect a blend that the absence or imperfection of any of the vital racial elements available will impair the compound. By an integral part is meant that once fused, separation of units is thereafter impossible. By equity is meant impartiality among the races accepted for the blend, with no imputations of inferiority and no bestowal of favors. With anything less than this in mind America will fall short of a science and of giving the world anything of lasting value for its racial problems. . . ." Part of an Address to Industrial Leaders by Frances A. Kellor. Published by the National Americanization Committee.

new stock, the loss would surely be made up by leaps and bounds, once the homogeneous nation has settled down to a unified national life.

IV

Now, how is this process of amalgamation to be consciously accelerated? Here, too (the advocate of rapid and complete fusion may point out), the facts themselves suggest the methods that would logically have to be employed. Three forces, it was found, were at work, mainly responsible for the intermingling of men and women of various ethnic groups: preponderance of marriageable men over women, rise in economic status and a diminution of the intensity of group consciousness. Whatever strengthens these forces also hastens the process of fusion. The first factor finds its freest field of operation in the first generation, the last operates most effectively in the second generation. It is not inconceivable that through conscious social control each of these forces could be so manipulated as to be raised indefinitely in its potency. Through a preferential treatment of single male immigrants, a wider and wider disparity might be created between the number of marriageable men and the number of marriageable women among persons of the first generation. This would act as an indirect compulsion upon both men and women to intermarry, as indeed it already does, although to a much smaller extent, under the present conditions. The factor of economic status is even more amenable to control. Every step taken in advancing the living and working conditions of the masses of immigrants, along with that of the

native-born tends to augment their mobility, to create wider and wider contacts and thus to increase the probability of more frequent fusion among the various nationalities.

But while the possibility of controlling the first factor (disparity in marriageable sex ratios) may be somewhat illusory and its advisability open to serious doubt, and while the control of the second factor (rise in economic status) for the specific purpose of accelerating ethnic fusion may be somewhat irrelevant, the conscious accentuation of the third and apparently most powerful factor (decrease of intensity of group consciousness) is not only more feasible, but will in the long run produce the desired effect with unerring certainty. One need only to examine carefully, so the argument may run, the forces that tend to sap the spirit of group solidarity among the immigrant peoples, to see how easily the task might be accomplished.¹ Encourage dispersion of the foreign-born populations within the individual communities and throughout the land, discourage on the part of the younger generation especially, affiliation with specifically immigrant communal activities, frown upon educational and cultural undertakings calculated to impart to the younger generation a knowledge and an appreciation of the cultural heritage of the immigrant group, condemn nationalistic leaders who persistently stir up in the immigrant the remembrances and the passions of a life he left behind him, treat with fine scorn the vain attempts of the intellectuals to formulate theories of

¹ See Chapter III, Immigrant Community Life and Organization, pp. 77-80; also Chapter IV, Facts of Inter-marriage, pp. 118-119.

“adjustment” to American life; above all, foster in school, in civic life and in international relations a positive ideal of national unity, national homogeneity, singleness of political as well as cultural allegiance—do all this, so argues the ethnic fusionist, do it steadily and systematically, and in two generations, at the most in three, the polyglot American people will be a mere memory and a fully blended, unified nation an accomplished fact.

V

To this reading of the facts still another may be opposed, taking as its basic premise that too sudden and too great a rupture of ethnic bonds is not only undesirable but may turn out to be dangerous. Were there involved in intermarriage nothing but the stark fact of biologic fusion of individuals of not very dissimilar ethnic varieties, there might perhaps be no serious consequences, even if the process went ahead on a large scale and with increasing rapidity. Much more, however, is involved. Intermarriage, it may be urged, is equally a sociological fact. It is a blending of different cultures, through the medium of specific representatives of these cultures. In the newly created home life two civilizations in miniature are contending for supremacy. On the one hand, the more dissimilar are the attitudes, the outlooks, the habits of the mating persons, the more difficult will it be to create a harmonious composite.¹ On the other hand, the more color-

¹ See for example Fishberg's conclusion that mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews are three to four times more likely to be dissolved than pure marriages. Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews*,

less, the more devitalized the cultural equipment of either husband or wife or both, the surer will the new family life be characterized by lack of color, lack of insight into and of appreciation of the culture values inherent in the ethnic backgrounds of the parties to the marriage. Violent transitions in mental and social life then, are to be avoided as much as possible. The passage from one phase to another, must be relatively smooth to avoid the deteriorating effects of the shock that must come to the nervous system and to the complex social organism.¹

One who interprets the facts in the light of these principles, feels considerable apprehension in reviewing them. According to his view, the striking increase in the proportion of intermarriage in the second generation, far from being a cause for rejoicing, should make one pause and ask if not more is lost than gained by

p. 217. Also Karl Walcker, *Grundriss der Statistik*, p. 138, quoted by Hoffman in *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*. "It has been found that the number of children to a marriage was 4.35 where both persons were of the same religion (Christian) but only 1.58 where the father was Christian and the mother was a Jewess. When both were Jews the number of births to a marriage was 4.21 but only 1.78 where the father was evangelized, and 1.66 where the father was a Catholic," p. 192. Walcker believes that the barriers which make marriage of Jews and Christians less fruitful are psychological rather than physiological. For a statement of the general underlying principle, see Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Chapter XIII, The Law of Similarity, pp. 278-289.

¹ For an analysis of neurotic symptoms growing out of intense mental conflict due to violent transitions from one type of thought-life to another, radically different type, see the instructive case cited in A. A. Brill's *Psychoanalysis*, p. 102, Second Edition.

the sudden snapping of group bonds which this indicates. For, it must be repeated, the intermarriage ratio marks only the *lower limit* of group disruption, so to speak, and as a rule the higher the ratio, the more extensive the breaking away from the group life in all its phases. He would observe further, that in spite of the powerful centrifugal forces operating within the groups, there are counteracting centripetal tendencies present. This is shown by the occurrence of intermarriages to a large extent within identical generations, and also by the fact that the proportion of mixed marriages between persons of different generations decreases as the interval between the generations increases. Rather than decrying this tendency as leading towards a fixation of types instead of making for thorough-going amalgamation, it should be looked upon as a wholesome brake upon too precipitate a process, thus providing in a small measure the more gradual transition from one generation to another, which is so greatly needed. Homogeneity achieved more slowly in this fashion will be more genuine and more permanent than the apparent unification resulting from too quick a fusion.

He may go further and say: That there is an irresistible impulse making for ethnic amalgamation can hardly be doubted in the face of the facts as a whole. Now since this amalgamation is probably inevitable and will proceed at a cumulative speed, there ought to be some effort to save as much as possible from the wreckage that results from the collapse of the cultural heritages of the fusing groups. This is all the more urgent since the mixture is going on primarily in the

mediocre culture groups. Here there is neither the cultural equipment nor a keen enough self-consciousness to produce the desire to transmit to the rising generation, culture values worth while conserving and incorporating into American life. While the biologic products of the union will in all probability be of virile stock, the cultural atmosphere into which the new generation is born will be nondescript. The result will be not so much a deterioration of cultural life, for, where there is little or none of it, it is hardly accurate to speak of deterioration. The result will rather be that at the critical moment in the life of the growing second generation there will be nothing to offer it but a drab outlook upon life. But what is far more to be regretted, the unique opportunity that America has of utilizing the rich cultural heritages of the immigrant groups and weaving them into the texture of its growing civilization, an opportunity such as no nation ever was offered under the same circumstances—will inevitably be lost. To be consoled by the thought that the new versatile nation resulting from the fusion of many peoples will soon replace, by the potency of its own genius, what may have been discarded or neglected or deliberately ignored in the culture of the immigrant groups, is very much like justifying the barbarities the invading Germanic tribes committed upon the civilization of ancient Rome, on the basis that they ruthlessly cleared the ground for the creation of a newer and more virile culture, irrespective of the high achievements already recorded in the Greco-Roman world. That a thousand years later the more civilized descendants of these empire-wreckers should rediscover the ruined rem-

nants of a glorious past and cherish them as long-lost treasures is ample proof of the original sin and madness of the fathers.

And finally, he may argue, this faith in the spontaneous creation of a new culture lacks a firm scientific basis, as it is grounded in an erroneous view of the nature of progress. Uncontrolled, unguided social movements always tend to level down, whereas the essence of progress is conscious, deliberate selection and accentuation of those social forces that tend in the direction of improvement and perfection of group life.

VI

Quite naturally the methods by which this point of view is to be translated into action will differ from those of the radical fusionist.

Amalgamation being inevitable, it is needless to increase, through preferential immigration of single males, for example, the disparity between the number of marriageable men and of marriageable women of the first generation. Besides, to do so would be to encourage the growth of difficult social problems arising out of an unsettled type of population, such as these male immigrants are bound to be. Experience in the past in the congested American cities has shown the grave dangers both to the community and to the immigrant.

To the improvement of the economic status of the groups there can be no objection. But the facts show that only a comparatively small share can be assigned to this force in the production of amalgamation. There is not much promise, then, in this method, even

though it could be applied on a larger scale and more consciously than is likely to be the case.

As to assiduously inducing a lack of group consciousness among immigrants, or undermining group solidarity in whatever form found, quite the opposite attitude is to be assumed. The fundamental objection to congested immigrant quarters is not that they tend to keep alive old-world habits and old-world interests. Far greater and more immediately menacing evils are the unsanitary and overcrowded tenements, the lack of recreational facilities for the youth and educational opportunities for the immigrant adult, the poorly lighted, ill-ventilated shops and factories, the inadequate protection to life—conditions over which the immigrant as such has practically no control, but must accept as he finds them upon his arrival. In a more favorable physical and economic setting much, if not all, of the apparent unsavoriness of immigrant life would fall away, as it actually does, as soon as circumstances are changed for the better. Moreover, rather than discourage affiliation with immigrant communal activities on the part of the younger generation, every effort should be made to foster among them an intelligent and appreciative interest in the cultural activities of their elders. The educational efforts of the immigrant community directed to this end are to be commended as contributions to the spiritual enrichment of the rising generation of Americans, if need be constructively criticised, but hardly frowned upon as unworthy of a free democratic life. Nationalistic leaders in the group, instead of being condemned as unwelcome and misguided enthusiasts are rather to be

brought into closer contact with the aspirations of the larger American community, thus enabling them to reinterpret for their own people, life in the new environment. Efforts of leaders of thought among the immigrants to formulate "theories of adjustment," instead of being relegated to the class of intellectual vaporings, should rather be examined as reasoned expressions of a deep-seated desire to fit into the new life and yet preserve the individuality of the group. The net result of this more sympathetic attitude may, possibly, turn out to be a considerable heightening of group consciousness and perhaps a temporary retardation of actual fusion. But ultimately amalgamation will take place, and with a younger generation, inheriting something of the cultural past of its group, the process will go ahead on a progressively higher cultural plane. America will thus gain far more in the long run than she loses.

VII

One other point of view is possible. It is to ignore the fact of intermarriage. Or if not ignore it, at least to minimize its importance. Accordingly, it may be said, whether the group fuse or not biologically is really of no consequence.¹ Intermarriage is not an absolute essential of true assimilation. In fact, the highest form of assimilation exists not where one individuality swallows up another, or one group merges indistinguishably with another, but where each side adapts to its own personality the unique contributions of the

¹ For a view somewhat like this, see that expressed by Bryce, Chapter IV, page 90.

other.¹ That is, each side utilizes the other as a stimulus for a continuous creative life. The number of distinctive individualities is then constantly multiplied instead of reduced and the only problem worthy of attention is the harmonization of the lives of these unique individualities.

To encourage, then, the growth of cultural conscious-

¹ Assimilation conceived in this form seems to be the central thought of Prof. Dewey in his address on "Nationalizing Education" (*Addresses and Proceedings of the Nat. Educ. Association*, New York, 1916, Vol. LIV, p. 185). He says: "I find that many who talk the loudest about the need of a supreme and unified Americanism of spirit really mean some special code or tradition to which they happen to be attached. They have some pet tradition which they would impose upon all. In thus measuring the scope of Americanism by some single element which enters into it they are themselves false to the spirit of America. Neither Englandism nor New-Englandism, neither Puritan nor Cavalier, any more than Teuton or Slav, can do anything but furnish one note in a vast symphony.

"The way to deal with hyphenism, in other words, is to welcome it, but to welcome it in the sense of extracting from each people its special good, so that it shall surrender into a common fund of wisdom and experience what it especially has to contribute. All of these surrenders and contributions taken together create the national spirit of America. The dangerous thing is for each factor to isolate itself, to try to live off its past, and then to attempt to impose itself upon other elements, or, at least, to keep itself intact and thus refuse to accept what other cultures have to offer, so as thereby to be transmuted into authentic Americanism." Or, even in a more vigorous vein: "No matter how loudly any one proclaims his Americanism if he assumes that any one racial strain, any one component culture, no matter how early settled it was in our territory, or how effective it has proven in its own land, is to furnish a pattern to which all other strains and cultures are to conform, he is a traitor to an American nationalism." Pp. 184-185.

ness among the various immigrant groups with the aim of their ultimate disappearance is like calling upon them to make elaborate preparation for their own burial ceremonies. Why not leave the question of biologic fusion open for the decision of each individual and each group? The burden of conserving cultural individuality rests, after all, upon the group as such. If it has a virile cultural life, no artificial stimulants will be needed to keep it alive. If it lacks vitality and melts away in contact with other superior cultures, then it has surely merited its fate. According to this view, one duty only can rightfully be laid upon the immigrant groups. It is, that they must become an integral part of American life, in the sense of not holding aloof from its broad, common interests, but sharing by sentiment and by deed in the common aspirations and enterprises of the whole people. Thus as a phase of a comprehensive American national consciousness, cultural group consciousness becomes an asset in the expanding life of the nation, and its furtherance a distinct service towards the creation of a unique and rich civilization of the future.

PART III
PUBLIC POLICY AND ETHNIC FUSION

CHAPTER VI

A PROPOSED POLICY OF INCORPORATION

I

A superficial comparison of the various interpretations of the facts of intermarriage might lead to the conclusion that these standpoints are irreconcilable. Hence, if any policy of assimilation is to be formulated, it must be founded exclusively on one or the other of these opposing views.

A more careful scrutiny, however, discloses that throughout some of them, there runs a common element which might possibly be made the basis of a reasonable program of public policy.

One of the four views, it would seem, must be completely rejected, namely, the isolation of ethnic groups in order to prevent amalgamation. Under social and economic conditions such as obtain in a democracy like America, fusion, even if it were biologically harmful, cannot be altogether prevented.¹ But the real objections here are the falsity of the fundamental premises and the anti-social means that would

¹ See Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 275. Speaking of the gradual progress of intermixture between black and white in the United States as inevitable he says: "If the powerful caste system of India has not been able to prevent intermixture, our laws, which recognize a greater amount of individual liberty, will certainly not be able to do so."

necessarily have to be applied in order to carry out the plan.

The other three views, implicitly or explicitly, recognize the desirability of incorporating into American life whatever culture-values the immigrants have produced or may continue to create. This, then, stated very broadly, must be the central aim of a far-sighted national policy with regard to the incorporation or assimilation of immigrants: so to control the underlying social forces that the new-comers will, on the one hand, be able to share fully in the opportunities of the new life, and on the other hand, will be in a position to contribute their best to the unfolding civilization of America.

II

These underlying forces have a twofold character: biologic and social-psychic. That it would be almost impossible at the present stage of eugenic thinking to control, through the action of the State or through other authoritative means, the biologic or racial factor is patent. To prescribe that an Englishman marry an Italian woman or that a Jew marry a Slav, is Utopian, to say the least, even if the requisite knowledge were at hand (which, of course, is not the case) guiding the proper choice in mating to produce the highest physical and mental type. But even if both social control and biologic knowledge had already reached the advanced position implied here, the crucial point of the situation would hardly have been touched. The "danger" if any exist, is not that too much or too little amalgamation is taking place between the immigrant peoples or that

it is the least advantageous biologic combinations that are occurring. The "danger" lurks in the fact that there is an unusual acceleration of the process of fusion within the span of one generation; that group ties are suddenly broken, and thus the conditions created for personal and group demoralization; that the mixing proceeds in the mediocre culture levels with little or no promise of conserving for American life culture-values of different though, in some respects, equally high or possibly higher civilizations.

III

The only feasible policy, then, that remains is to safeguard and improve the social environment under which fusion is taking place, to develop a growingly appreciative attitude toward the immigrant as a potential contributor to the cultural life of America and to leave the ultimate choice of actual biologic fusion or non-fusion with the individual or with the groups as such. To set up racial fusion and the resulting ethnic homogeneity as the sole and conscious national ideal is, to say the least, impracticable. It may even turn out to be impossible, though final judgment on this point must wait upon further scientific evidence.¹

But a deeper objection, by far, can be raised. It is, that such a goal would divert the national imagination and the national will from the ideal of intellectual and emotional harmony among the masses of diverse elements, to the ideal of physical commingling and

¹ For the view of Dr. A. Hardlička expressing strong doubt as to whether or not the United States in the past has produced a homogeneous "American" type, see Chapter VIII, p. 221, note 1.

unity of blood relationship. Doubtless the latter is easier of attainment. But in the spiritual struggles for the realization of the former, profounder levels of unity are constantly reached and the national ideal thus approaches step by step the all-embracing human ideal.¹ Herein is to be found the only adequate answer to the insistent and rightly insistent, cry for national unity and the dread of America as a "polyglot boarding-house."

IV

The policy thus sketched in very broad outlines would coincide, in the main, with the control of the second of the factors, namely, the social-psychic factor. Here the difficulties in the way are not so great as those confronting the eugenist. Advance in civilization has been largely synonymous with control of the environment,² including the social environment, and

¹ A somewhat similar thought seems to be implied in the discussion by Professor Giddings of the assimilative forces that have thus far been chiefly effective in American life: 1. Standardization of consumption. 2. A scientific view of nature which all men are being forced to adopt because of modern methods of earning a livelihood. 3. The class struggle, that is, the struggle for social justice, the latter destined to be the great unifying force in the future. "They will create" he observes "in our mighty population the true solidarity of mind and heart; and of this solidarity shall there not be born a civilization whose qualities shall be dignity and sobriety superadded to zeal; of beauty and graciousness superadded to power?" F. H. Giddings, "The Quality of Civilization," *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, March, 1912, p. 589.

² See L. F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*: "Civilization is the result of the activities of all men during all time struggling against the environment and slowly conquering nature," p. 132. Or again, on

thus social experience is here wider and more reassuring.

Now control implies aim, and the aim in the solution of the immigrant problem must be to make possible the maximum contribution on the part of the immigrant both economically and culturally and to secure for him, in return, the maximum economic and cultural participation in the national life. In a comprehensive program of public policy these two aspects, the economic and the cultural, are inseparable, for, from a synthetic point of view,¹ the immigrants as individuals and as groups, cannot reasonably be expected to make cultural contributions if the economic basis of their life is insecure or inadequate. Where there is no economic competence there is no leisure, and where there is no leisure there is no culture. In the formulation of all the subsidiary policies, as well as in that of the general policy, this fundamental connection must be the guiding thought. These subsidiary policies are: the policy

page 131: "It is man's combined influence on his environment and on himself that chiefly constitute civilization. In other words, it is his action, and without such action on his part, there could be no civilization." Also John Dewey, in *Democracy and Education*: "The advance of civilization means that a larger number of natural forces and objects have been transformed into instrumentalities of action, into means for securing ends," p. 44. For similar views, see also C. A. Ellwood, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 201; Edwin G. Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*: "To a large extent civilization itself means good environmental conditions and the advance of civilization means improvement of environment," p. 312. For other similar views and for a good summary, see A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, Chap. VII, The Criteria of Progress, pp. 113-148.

¹ For an outline of this view see Chap. II, pp. 50-59.

of regulation, the policy of distribution and the policy of incorporation.¹ Each of these three in turn has its economic and cultural or educational aspect. In other words, there are, in reality, six specific programs that must be framed if a fully rounded policy on immigration is to be formulated.

How far short of this inclusive program the present thought and practice have fallen, appears upon comparison of what has been done with what might be done. All three policies have thus far been fragmentary and in the main, negative.² Whatever there has been of regulation was concerned mainly with the exclusion of the physically and mentally defective and the economically dependent. Methods of distribution have remained undeveloped.³ Americanization is

¹ See Chap. II, pp. 56-59.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59.

³ A significant experiment in the distribution of immigrants by a private philanthropic agency has been that of the Industrial Removal Office, in New York City. The general method of procedure has been to receive applications for removal at the central office in New York, to make a careful physical examination of the applicant, to secure if possible evidence of good moral character and fair competence in some trade, to select from carefully compiled data on industrial opportunities throughout the United States, a community where the applicant and his family, if he had any, could make a living, to make arrangements for his reception in that community and then to keep in touch with him through the local agencies and the traveling agents of the central office. A careful survey of the work of the Industrial Removal Office shows that from 1901 to 1912, 59,729 people were sent away from New York City. The number of cities and towns to which persons were sent was 1,474, situated in every state of the Union. Besides this, the two branches in Boston and Philadelphia, during an existence

confined to the barren process of teaching the rudiments of English and of civics. It is nothing short of a miracle that whatever incorporation of the immigrants into American life has occurred, took place at all and with the least amount of conscious direction.

V

It is strange that American immigration legislation has persistently evaded the underlying problems in these three policies and continues to busy itself with comparatively non-essential details. It is as if the framers of the law from one generation to another had been afraid to face boldly the real issues involved and to think fearlessly of far-reaching remedies. What, for example, should be the basic principles of selection and regulation? How could the influx of labor forces be so regulated as to satisfy the true demands rather than the artificial demands for labor? Is Europe the only source of foreign labor and must it remain so to the exclusion of all other continents? And if so, on what grounds? Would preferential treatment of family immigration as opposed to immigration of single men and women tend to select a steadier and more assimilable mass of settlers?

And on the score of distribution similar fundamental questions are pressing for solution, only to be systematically ignored by legislators. What constitutes desirable distribution? Is it more practicable, in the long run, to settle immigrants in groups or as individ-

of nine years, distributed 5,817 persons, making a grand total for the three branches of 64,546. Since the outbreak of the European War the work has been practically at a standstill.

uals, no matter what the preconceived notions on this question may be? Where are the various types of immigrants most needed, industrially speaking? What are the most efficient ways of keeping the immigrant labor supply mobile and yet not too transient? How can occupational misplacement be minimized and thus great losses prevented both economically and spiritually.¹ And no less fundamental, after proper regula-

¹ To what extent occupational changes occur among immigrants upon arrival in America is suggested by the following account of the situation among Armenians and Greeks: "But in the attempt to fit himself into the new economic life in America many a highly skilled worker is compelled to abandon his former occupation to his own great financial and spiritual loss and undoubtedly also to that of the city and of the country at large. So important did this shifting of occupations seem to the investigating committee that a more detailed study was made on this point. Of about eight hundred Armenians studied, almost eighty per cent changed their occupation. The farmers all changed, many becoming factory workers, porters, and day laborers, others taking to the grocery and restaurant business, still others struggling along as weavers, cooks, waiters and laundry workers. Some of the most striking changes, however, took place in the ranks of the skilled mechanics and of the professional men. Blacksmiths abandoned hammer and tongs for the grocer's scales or the tailor's shears; brass workers turned stock clerks or day laborers; carpenters wasted their skill as team drivers or window cleaners; coppersmiths sank to the level of the versatile 'generally useful'; jewelers donned the waiter's coat; weavers and knife makers tortured their nimble fingers with crude machine-like factory work; teachers graced the clerk's high stool and ministers bewailed their lot as 'helpers' in the back kitchen of an earthy lunch-room. Marvelous indeed is the transforming power of the Great Alchemist, 'free America.' But, after recovering from our wonderment, we might object in a sober mood that, after all, the figures involved here are so small that the economic loss indicated by them is negligible. The real loss, how-

tion and proper distribution have been accomplished, are the questions relating to a sound policy of incorporation. What is involved in genuine Americanization? What part in this process can and should the immigrant community play and what part should the State play? How must the elementary methods of Americanization be improved and supplemented in order to achieve substantial results rather than the illusion of assimilation? To what extent is an increase in the margin of leisure likely to release the creative powers of the various immigrant groups? In what specific ways can the past cultural achievements of these

ever, to the country as a whole, becomes clear when the same ratio of change is applied to the total Armenian immigration. Take, as an instance, the years 1899 to 1917, for which figures are available. Of 43,000 immigrants who entered the United States during these years almost 35,000 must, accordingly, have changed their occupations. During the same period over 11,000 farmers and farm laborers came, of whom presumably fifty per cent abandoned their former occupation. Almost 1800 tradesmen arrived, of whom eighty-five per cent changed; 12,000 individuals engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits came, of whom also a very large proportion must have changed. If now we plead that such an enormous shifting about in occupations is inevitable, owing to a lack of knowledge of the English language and lack of proper facilities to guide the immigrant into the field of work where he can make the greatest possible use of his capacity or training, we are offering an explanation rather than proposing a much needed remedy. As was the case with the Armenians, although not to the same extent, a large proportion (almost one-half) of the Greek immigrants change their occupation in America. . . . " "The Immigrant and the Community, A Summary and Interpretation of a Survey of the Armenian and Greek Communities in New York City," Julius Drachsler, in *The Standard*, Bulletin of the N. Y. Society of Ethical Culture, for November, 1918.

peoples be utilized for the enrichment of American life? It will be said that it is far easier to put these questions than to find their solutions. At the present stage of thought upon the problem, however, it is a clear gain even to formulate the appropriate questions, for, as yet, this essential first step has hardly been taken.

VI

But the cultural problem has been neglected even more than the economic question; one is tempted to say, ignored almost entirely, except by a solitary educator here and there. The cultural problem has a negative and a positive phase. The first consists in this: large masses of children of school age, foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage,¹ are saturated in the public schools and the high schools with a culture foreign to that of the home from which they come. They learn of a history, a literature, a scheme of political life, that are in many cases radically different from the cultural background of their elders. In the home there is, therefore, little or no understanding between the growing child and the static parent. The delicate task is to reestablish or to reënforce a sympathy that is constantly on the wane, a process which,

¹ The number of foreign-born children of school age (6 to 16 years) in N. Y. City in 1910 was 343,863. Together with the native-born children of foreign parents they were 1,072,377 strong. *U. S. Census, 1910*, Vol. 1, p. 441. The corresponding numbers for the United States were:—foreign-born children 784,949; native-born children of foreign parents, 4,971,230 or a total of 5,756,179 school children between 6 and 16 years. *U. S. Census, 1910*, Vol. 1, p. 310.

if not counteracted in time, is prone to result in a permanent and often a tragic estrangement. It is not inappropriate to speak of this phase of the problem as negative, because the aim in its solution is merely to *impart* to both parent and child a more sympathetic attitude towards each other, primarily through a completer knowledge and appreciation of the culture-values prized by either side.

The other phase of the problem, the positive, is concerned mainly with the effort of stimulating the creative powers of all the members of the immigrant groups. The communities formed by representatives of the various European peoples in the United States are, of course, only fragments of the old-world communities. Nevertheless, they have brought with them a knowledge and an appreciation of some of the cultural contributions made by the parent groups upon the native soil. This knowledge and appreciation varies according to the proportion of intellectuals in the immigrant group and according to the cultural level from which the majority of the immigrants came. For the immigrants to invent ways of contributing effectively some of their inherited culture-values to American life, and to add to this tradition new values for the creation of which the inspiration is drawn from life in the new environment—to do this, requires the free unfolding of all the creative forces within the immigrant group.

VII

Whatever attempts towards the solution of the cultural problem have been made, have thus far con-

cerned themselves mainly with the negative phase. In immigrant groups where self-consciousness has reached a high degree of intensity, as for example among the Poles, the Jews, the Bohemians, educational activities calculated to transmit to the younger generation the cultural heritage of the group, have been rather vigorously pursued. Nationalist schools, supplementing the work of the public educational system, social and recreational centers stressing the cultural group-consciousness, community houses gathering within their walls persons of all classes, shades of belief and of disbelief, are frequently found flourishing in these immigrant communities.¹ But throughout all this work there is much that reminds one of frantic efforts to save the group from disintegration in a new environment, rather than a free blossoming of a healthy cultural life taking root in a new and rich soil.

Nor has educational thought and practice in America fully recognized the significance of this conflict and provided the proper means of making the transition

¹ See Chapter III, Immigrant Community Life and Organization. A detailed survey of the educational activities of the Jewish community is *Jewish Education in New York City*, by Dr. A. M. Dushkin. Prof. Herbert A. Miller in "The School and the Immigrant," one of the reports of the *Cleveland Educational Survey of 1916*, Chapter III, "The School and the Immigrant," pp. 37-54, gives a brief account of the efforts of various national groups in Cleveland to preserve their language and culture through privately owned schools, including parochial schools. The following nationalities are included: Bohemians, Croatians, Danes, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Hungarians, Italians, Lithuanians, Norwegians and Swedes, Poles, Russians and Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Syrians.

from one cultural background to another, smoother and thus fuller in mental enrichment. In its great work of molding the children of the foreign-born to the predominant cultural type, the public school has ignored an urgent duty and lost sight of a unique opportunity. Reflecting upon the need for a broader vision of American nationalism, the leading philosopher of education said: "The point is to see to it that the hyphen connects instead of separates. And this means at least that our public schools shall teach each factor to respect every other, and shall take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite make-up. I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continuously built up, and make every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make-up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have entered into our being he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself."¹

VIII

The implications of the positive phase of the problem have thus far been grasped even less clearly than those of the negative phase. For most American educators this aspect is practically non-existent. Pub-

¹ John Dewey, "Nationalizing Education," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, N. Y. 1916, Vol. LIV, p. 185.

lic education, therefore, shows no trace of any influence in the direction of incorporating cultural heritages other than those of the predominant civilization. There are indications that the concept of the creative rôle of the immigrant groups is slowly crystallizing in the minds of some leaders of American thought. Among the sponsors of the community center movement, particularly as it struggles for expression in the large American cities, there are those who see in the various self-conscious immigrant culture-groups potential instruments for the enrichment of the drab, industrialized city life of twentieth-century America.

To a somewhat greater degree, in groups in which social experience harks back to earlier similar attempts at adjustment, conscious efforts are made to formulate the rationale of cultural autonomy in a non-traditional social environment.¹

¹ See for example, A. M. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in New York City*, Ch. XIII, The Outlook in Jewish Education (Summary): "As regards America, the experiments which the Jews are making in the religious-national education of their children, affect two of its most vital problems: namely, the relation of the racial or ethnic communities to the entire American nation, and the relation between the State and the Church. . . . The Jews, as a highly self-conscious community, with a long tradition of adjustment behind them are in a position to try experiments aiming toward the solution of this problem (of Americanization) for America. The method of solution which they propose is that of community organization. They would bring all the citizens of the American Commonwealth together in most of life's relationships. But they would also permit the members of any other national or religious community to develop district organizations and institutions to deal with matters of peculiar interest to themselves, except in so far

IX

The cultural problem, then, as conceived here in its entirety, has not yet become sharply outlined in the national consciousness. Much less has it been brought under deliberate social control. That this is not only possible but also necessary is still less apparent to the minds of most students of the problem. For, thinking upon the nature and the possibilities of control of social life is at present in very much the same stage in which human thought upon natural phenomena was in the pre-scientific era. Control of the forces of nature was out of the question, since no control is possible where a sense of mystery and of helplessness rules instead of knowledge. To social phenomena there

as such activity would curtail the rights of other American citizens. The clearest example of the community method of adjustment is found in the week-day Jewish schools, which requires Jewish children to mingle with non-Jewish American boys and girls in the public schools, and yet gathers them together for specifically Jewish instruction during the time when they are free from their public school duties.

The Jews of this country are opposed to the parochial idea in education. Of the sixty-five thousand children who receive Jewish training in New York City, for example, less than one thousand are taught in Jewish parochial schools. . . . The Jewish educational solution would appear to be that any national or religious group which is highly conscious of its culture and civilization, and desires to perpetuate it in this country, shall have the opportunity of doing so by means of instruction *supplementary* to the public school system," pp. 382-383.

See also Chapter I, The Social Bases of Jewish Education, Possible Contributions of Jewish Group Life to America, p. 19, and Chapter V, Tendencies in Jewish Education (Historic Summary), p. 129.

still clings much of this quality of the awe-inspiring. To tamper with social institutions, to interfere with the "natural" unfolding of group activity by artificial control is still regarded as fraught with hidden dangers; as, indeed it is, if the control proceeds on the basis of a false insight into the mechanism of group life. Viewed in this light, the attempt at conscious direction or at the molding of a culture or a civilization is not only a contradiction in basic concepts but a hopeless if not a perilous adventure.

X

And yet, more and more is the imagination of students of American life coming to busy itself with the idea of conscious creation of a new and rich civilization that shall combine within itself the culture-values of the various ethnic stocks represented in the American people. The most obvious way that suggests itself is to "select" or "extract" or "distil" the valuable elements from each cultural heritage and combine these into the new "American product."¹ But what would

¹ See, for example, an article by Frances Rumsey on "Racial Relations in America," *Century Magazine*, April, 1919: "The process of race amalgamation presupposes as its essential condition that it should be accepted as and operated as a science. The terms of both its construction and its application must be highly conscious. We have seen enough in the past of the evils which result from loose and accidental absorption and from fortuitous terms of formation. There must be deliberate and intensive selection. To apply this selection physically is a problem that the future must deal with, along with the problem of selecting immigration. But what it is essential to remember is that physical selection must be unintelligent until we have first applied selection mentally, and until we

on first consideration commend this method, namely, its simplicity and directness, is the very thing which, upon careful thought, suggests serious doubt as to its efficacy. To suppose, for example, that a new American music can be created by selecting the characteristic qualities of Italian, German, Hungarian and Russian music and mechanically combining them; or to imagine that a new American art, or literature or religion or polity, can be consciously fabricated by extracting the so-called valuable elements from the corresponding culture-products of the immigrant peoples, and then deftly fitting them together to make an original "American" mosaic, is not much different from the attempt of the chemist in his laboratory to produce living tissue through clever manipulation of the known chemical constituents of protoplasm. He may succeed in uniting the elements into a synthetic compound but he cannot infuse it with that spark of life which is the essence of a truly organic unit. And so with a culture. To proceed on the basis of a *mechanical* view of its growth is to ignore its most characteristic feature. For, on the personal side, the creation of a culture-value, as a lyric or a drama, a painting or a piece of sculpture, a symphony or a profound religious idea, involves the original apperception on the part of the

understand not only what we need from each particular people but the essence of and the causes of their particular genius." P. 784.

Prof. Dewey speaks of "extracting from each people its special good so that it shall surrender into the common fund of wisdom and experience what it especially has to contribute. All of these surrenders and contributions taken together create the national spirit of America." See Chapter V, p. 164, note 1.

genius or of the talented individual of certain relevant traditional culture-materials that he finds imbedded in the social heredity of his group. Spontaneity and uniqueness of reaction are thus among the most striking earmarks of the creative mind.¹

¹ For a highly illuminating discussion of original mental activity see the chapter on The Factor of Originality in *Dynamic Psychology* by Prof. R. S. Woodworth. The following extracts bear upon the subject considered here: p. 130: "What we find in the history of art, as in the case of Greek drama or of Gothic architecture, or of modern music, is a development from crude and simple beginnings to ever greater complexity, richness and refinement, each creative artist basing his work on that which immediately precedes him. In science and invention it is even more obvious that, however original a mind may be, it works out from the assimilated achievements of its predecessors." On page 131: "If there be any other fact to be observed in a distant view of genius, it is perhaps a remarkable keenness of perception in the field peculiar to any individual genius." Or again on page 132: "Genius is this—at least this: native capacity of a very high order for perceiving and handling a certain class of objects, the class differing with the particular bent of the individual's genius. The genius' spontaneous interest in this class of objects, his quick and penetrating apprehension of them, his masterful handling of them, his absorption in them to the neglect of the commoner interests of life, his remarkable persistence and industry in dealing with them, and his consequent productivity, are all the same traits under different names." See also the very readable book by T. S. Knowlson, *Originality, A Popular Study of the Creative Mind*.

An interesting instance of spontaneity in creative art (though in a rather humble sphere) is that of the folksong. "The folksong is in a constant state of flux, as the experience of Murko in Bohemia and Herzegovina shows. When he asked a singer why he had changed a part of the text, the latter answered, 'it happens so while singing.' Another singer when told that he had not sung a song as he had before, remarked: 'The song is not

If, then, the experiment is to be ventured of consciously creating a composite culture in America, it can be approached only indirectly. By deliberately furthering an interest in the cultural achievements of the immigrant groups and by systematically bringing before the minds of their descendants these variegated culture-materials, a rich cultural environment or atmosphere might be created in which they would constantly move and find their spiritual expression. Among them would naturally be included the latent geniuses and talented persons who presumably would react in their unique and spontaneous fashion to this varied cultural panorama. Only as a result of these original apperceptions can a truly characteristic and organic composite culture be achieved. Exactly what form it will ultimately assume no one can foretell. Its very essence is spontaneity. All that can be done is to create the conditions under which the gifted individual will give free and unhampered expression to his native talent.

But how is this necessary cultural milieu to be constructed? And who is to foster the interest in its sustained growth? To call upon the immigrant groups alone, to do this through the medium of their cultural out of a book; when it gets into a book then it is settled.' But Murko adds that his records showed that not even that was true. Hence we cannot say that any particular version of a folk-song is the true version; all the versions are true versions. A folk-song 'born of the people' has neither beginning nor end. We do not know what the first version was and cannot tell what the song may become." "The Folk-Song," by Luise Hæssler, *Addresses and Proceedings, Nat. Educ. Assn. 1916*, p. 610.

community organizations is to court failure for two reasons: Not all of the groups have developed a vigorous enough cultural community life; some may even be dying fast, and yet among their inherited culture-values there may be some that America can ill afford to lose through the sheer lack of vitality of the heirs. On the other hand, there is the danger of overemphasis of distinctive group characteristics, if the groups alone are left to conserve for American life their unique contributions.

Still less desirable is it to let the State alone, through the agency of government, assume this responsibility. It is quite conceivable that under the pressure of nationalistic pride and self-interest, the various groups might come to manipulate the governmental agencies for their own ends rather than for the welfare of all culture groups involved. To assure any measure of success, the various immigrant groups and the State must supplement each other's functions. These functions in turn must be clearly delimited. Broadly stated, the function of the cultural groups would be to foster through voluntary cultural community organization, their cultural uniqueness, while the function of the State would embrace the harmonization of these cultural differences, the unification of distinctive contributions into a rich and variegated whole.

XI

There is no fitter medium through which this delicate yet supremely important task of harmonization could be accomplished than the public educational

system. To be sure, this involves a far-reaching change in the conception of some of the functions of American public education, particularly of some of the functions of the public school. The traditional method of the public school has been the leveling of all cultural differences among its pupils and the sending forth of a uniform product with the unmistakable stamp of the dominant civilization upon them. This is to be replaced by the conscious effort to marshal all the cultural contributions of the races and nations represented in the student-body, to bring these before the growing minds in a form easily grasped (the medium of instruction being, of course, the English language), and thus to build up in them the attitude of intelligent and sympathetic insight into the life of diverse peoples. The obstacles to effective presentation would decrease rather than increase with the rise in school grade, and with the introduction of these studies into the cultural curriculum of the higher schools. Comparative history and politics, comparative art, comparative music, comparative literature, comparative religion, offer undreamed-of possibilities for the instruction of the youth. Lack of suitable texts, difficulties of technique of teaching, dearth of properly equipped instructors, would be obstacles that would speedily vanish before an aroused will of educators to conjure up, so to speak, before the imagination of the growing generations, the cultural treasures of the human race and to surround them with a rich, stimulating cultural environment. Under such educational conditions it is more than likely that latent genius and talent will more readily seek and find expression, evolving of their own

accord unique culture-values of universal and lasting worth.¹

¹ Ward, in his brilliant discussion of the true resources of society in talent and genius comes to the following conclusion after a careful review of Galton's and Odin's researches: "To sum up the general results of this inquiry, it may be safely stated that a well-organized system of universal education, using that term in the sense in which it is used in Dynamic Sociology as conferring the maximum amount of the most important extant knowledge upon all members of society, would increase the average fecundity in dynamic agents of society at least one hundred fold. The fecundity is apparently about two to the 100,000 population. It can therefore be made at least 200 to the 100,000 or 1 to every 500." *Applied Sociology*, Ch. X, The Logic of Opportunity, p. 231. If women are included, Ward believes that "for the transition period it is not claimed that they would double the number of contributors to civilization, but very soon they would raise the proportion to 1 in 300 and ultimately they would contribute their full moiety." *Applied Sociology*, p. 232. For the United States with a population of approximately 100,000,000 this would give 200,000 dynamic agents instead of 2,000.

CHAPTER VII

AMERICANIZATION

I

It is by no means certain if the proposed policy for incorporating immigrant groups is congenial to contemporary American thought. To judge from the development of a technique through which adequate expression might be given to such a policy, the basic principles seem to have been largely ignored, perhaps not even recognized. For two decades, at least, the attention of educators and of social workers interested in the immigrant has almost wholly been absorbed by somewhat different problems. These are aptly summed up in the term "Americanization."

Since the early nineties of the last century when the influx of the new immigration began to raise serious questions in the minds of the older settlers, the movement for Americanization has been gathering momentum. The European War, with its consequent stimulation of group consciousness among immigrants in America, served to stir the advocates of Americanization to still more vigorous activity and to crystallize their thought and their methods.¹

¹ For a brief account of the efforts made to arouse public interest in Americanization, see article by Howard C. Hill, "The Americanization Movement," *Amer. Journ. of Sociol.*, May, 1919; also *Nineteenth Annual Report (1916-1917) of the Superintendent of Schools*

II

The only real obstacles to their efforts thus far have been and continue to be, the indifference of public opinion and their own faulty ways of approach. Reminiscent, no doubt, of the time when the assimilation of immigrants proceeded without much conscious direction (due mainly to the relatively small number and to the similarity of their cultural traditions to those of the native-born) a species of "laissez-faire" view is still held by some with regard to Americanization. Let the immigrant alone, is the burden of the argument; he is quite capable of taking care of himself. He will pick up all he really needs of the language of the country for his daily needs. He will learn enough, sometimes far too much, of American political life. As to the customs of the land, they are so contagious that he cannot help adopt them sooner or later. Why do thus and so, for or with the immigrant? Why encourage paternalism? Has it not often been a dread of it that drove him from his homeland? Besides, the older generation among the immigrants, the "old folks," are really unassimilable. Transplanted though they are in body, they live in spirit in a traditional world of their own. They must die out to make room

of N. Y. City, pp. 16-19. The propaganda of the Bureau of Naturalization, the "America First" campaign of the Bureau of Education, the organization of the Committee of One Hundred of the National Education Association in July, 1916, the organization of committees on immigrants by various trade associations and chambers of commerce, and other similar efforts culminated in the Conference on Methods of Americanization held in Washington on May 12-15, 1919.

for their native-born children, who will need no "Americanization."

The only adequate answer to such an expression of opinion is to direct attention to the facts. A knowledge of the English language, the first requisite of proper adjustment to American life, is by no means as widespread among immigrants as an optimistic, uninformed view might lead one to believe. There is a very considerable portion of the foreign-born who cannot speak the language at all, not to mention the large number of those who have only a fragmentary knowledge of it.¹ Furthermore, whatever little information the immigrant acquires of the real structure and purpose of American political institutions is prone to be inaccurate and stress in his mind the reprehensible

¹ Based upon the Census of 1910, the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior estimates that there are in the United States:

Foreign-born whites, ten years of age or over, unable to speak English.....	2,953,011
(Foreign-born whites, 21 years of age and over, unable to speak English).....	(2,565,612)
Colored population, ten years of age and over, unable to speak English (Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc.).....	138,196
Making a total unable to speak English.....	3,091,207

From 1910 to 1919, according to the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, over 4,000,000 immigrants arrived from non-English speaking countries. Therefore it has been estimated that there are at least 5,000,000 non-English speaking persons in the United States at present. For detailed figures of foreign-born white men and women, 10 years of age and over, by States, unable to speak English, see Circulars No. 30, 33, 34, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior; also Bulletin *Americanization*, for June 1st, 1919, page 16.

rather than the laudable aspects. His personal experiences in municipal and state politics are not infrequently calculated to decrease rather than increase his respect for American civic ideals. The attitude of virtual neglect advocated by the "laissez-faire" policy then, might turn out to be as much a menace as the dreaded paternalism. A middle ground must be found. This middle ground is intelligent guidance of, and coöperation with, the immigrant on the basis of an intimate knowledge of his needs and capacities. Moreover, far from being "old folks," helpless and hopeless, the vast majority of immigrants are in the younger and more vigorous age groups. May it not be that the real reason for the apparent lack of Americanization among them is that those who are eager to Americanize them have not yet learned how to kindle their imagination and enlist their good will?

III

At the other extreme stand the advocates of compulsory Americanization. "I would have the Government provide" exclaimed the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the most vigorous spokesman of this view, "that every immigrant be required to learn English, with instruction furnished free. If after five years he has not learned it, let him be returned to the country from which he came." With his characteristic love of striking epigram he added: "If my parents had continued to speak Dutch, I might have been Sheriff of Nassau County, but I would never have become President of the United States."

This sentiment for enforced nationalization was

echoed and reëchoed with varying degrees of emphasis throughout the period of war with Germany. Alarmed at the hostile foreign propaganda and at the widespread use of languages and newspapers other than English, an active patriotic organization issued a statement breathing the spirit of compulsion: "Great patience has been exercised in our efforts to convince the foreigners. In the case of those not now convinced, justice to the cause for which we fight demands a stronger measure. They must be compelled to convince themselves of the value and the justice of American ideals and this requires a knowledge of the English language." The suggestion has even seriously been made that Federal legislation be passed denying any foreigner in this country the right to follow his vocation, "whether it be practicing law, or practicing medicine, or carrying brick or mortar, or delivering newspapers," unless before a set date he makes application for his first naturalization papers.¹

It is strange that in America of all countries the one great lesson of the European war should so far be forgotten as to even permit the thought of compulsory citizenship. From the arrogant attempt of Austria to coerce Serbia into an ignominious surrender of her sovereignty, the fateful antecedents of the war can be traced back step by step, until the roots of the great conflict are discovered in national policies of coercion,

¹ Report of Americanization Conference called by the Secretary of the Interior in Washington, April, 3, 1918, p. 44. A resolution was proposed, but not passed, requiring all unnaturalized foreigners over 21 to apply for naturalization papers and to study the English language.

cultural and economic. It would seem that the experience of Germany with Alsace-Lorraine and East Prussia, of Russian Czardom with Poles, Jews and Finns, of the Ottoman Turks with Armenia, of the Hapsburgs with Slovak, Hungarian, Roumanian and Croatian, would be a solemn warning to America that compulsion breeds stubbornness, and that stubbornness contains the seeds of conflict and of hatred.

IV

Thus the conviction that compulsory Americanization is not only futile, but also dangerous, leads a very large group of students and practical workers with immigrants to abandon this extreme position. But neither can they accept the let-alone policy. And yet, they point out, all their efforts at inducing the foreigners in a friendly way to prepare themselves for citizenship are of small avail. The president of the Board of Education of the greatest school system in America, reciting the failure of his city to attract and hold the foreign-born in classes for the teaching of English, exclaimed in almost plaintive tones "We simply could not get the people to come. They would not attend our classes."¹ But the causes of this deplorable

¹ Statement of the President of the Board of Education of New York City schools at the Americanization Conference, April 3, 1918. See Report of Conference, p. 27. "Last year (1917) for instance, in New York City we had 617 classes in our evening schools, for teaching English to foreigners, 617 classes with an average attendance of 25 to 30, many of them adults. So difficult was the problem to maintain the interest, that before the close of the session we were actually compelled to reduce that number to 433." The district superintendent in charge of the evening

situation are not far to seek. "We have found," he continued, "that among many of our adult population there was a disinclination to attend schools and take advantage of the opportunities to be gained there because of the conditions under which these people were living. The father would say 'I shall not stay home while my wife she go to school' and the wife would say 'I shall not stay home, while my husband he go to school.' These are the stories that come to us from our teachers who have gone among these people to interest them in the work of educating themselves." In brief, one of the most fundamental obstacles in the way of Americanization is the industrial conditions under which the masses of the immigrants are constrained to live. Nothing short of a wider margin of leisure will enable many of them to utilize the chances for learning English and for becoming acquainted with civics and American history.

V

But it is doubtful if a very large proportion of those who would thus be freed for instruction, would be held in the classroom until a satisfactory knowledge was acquired by them. Neither the content nor the methods of instruction have as yet developed far enough to make genuinely effective and skillful teaching possible. The curriculum of the typical evening school still con-

schools of New York City wrote, "We have offered every opportunity free, we have thrown open our schools and bid them come, but they do not avail themselves of the opportunity nor do they desire to come." *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, N. Y. City, 1916-1917*, "Evening Schools," p. 24.

sists of the bare outlines of English, civics and history. That these three subjects must form a basic part of the plan of instruction is beyond doubt. But they must be broadened and enriched in a manner to appeal to the active interests of the adult immigrant. The content of the instruction must be definitely and systematically correlated with his two primary interests—his vocation and his past cultural life. It is through the medium of these backgrounds that he is to be led gradually to become an integral part of the new community in which he finds himself. Instead of puerile language lessons having no intrinsic value for the adult mind, English must be taught to him as a living instrument for the expression of his daily needs.¹

¹ The inability to read and understand English not only handicaps the foreigner in his pursuit of a livelihood, but in some occupations places him in danger of his life. According to the director of the United States Bureau of Mines, the rate of accidents among the non-English speaking miners is not only greater in the great mining districts of the country, but the increased ratio is uniform in all districts. In his opinion, this demonstrates clearly that the inability to read warning signs, to comprehend fully the company's instructions and to understand their foremen, places an unnecessary hazard upon the foreign-born. In the Pennsylvania anthracite mines, for example, the figures show that 43% of the employees are English speaking and this number is charged with only 28.8% of the fatalities, whereas the other 36% sustained 71% of the fatalities. This is a comparative ratio of 669 to 1,268 against the non-English speaking. In the Pennsylvania bituminous mines the ratio is 771 to 1,123 and in the West Virginia district 790 to 1,424. The report is concluded by the statement: "Had the fatality and injury rate for the English speaking Americans been maintained throughout the three groups there would have been a saving of 716 fatalities and 900 very serious injuries, a strong argument for

Instead of presenting to him a detached chronology of American historical events, he must be made to appreciate the intimate relationship of American and European life. Wherever possible, illustrations and contrasts should be drawn from the history of his own land, reinforced by every adaptable graphic method, thus illuminating in the light of his own tradition, the truly significant episodes in the story of America. Instead of barren descriptions of the mechanics of government, fundamental differences, and in some cases similarities, between his own home politics and that of his adopted country, should constantly be brought to his attention. In this way he would come to have a dynamic view of political life as opposed to

Americanization and education of the miner." Abstract of report by Van. H. Manning, director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines. Bulletin *Americanization*, June 1st, 1919, p. 11.

Similarly, the value of English in curbing traffic accidents is coming to be stressed by transportation experts. They urge communities to stress to the foreign-born resident that a knowledge of the English language will help reduce the death list of 10,000 persons estimated to be the United States' annual toll to public carelessness and ignorance of highway traffic. "Americanization committees," says W. P. Eno, chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Highway Transport Committee of the Council of National Defense, an international authority on traffic regulation, "should investigate their local conditions in this respect and should ask for the strictest enforcement of the English language test (for drivers' license). Traffic offers an unlimited study of primary value upon which to base the lessons of the evening schools. It is a topic of as much universal appeal as the purchase of food or the employment office dialogue, for, at some time during the day, practically every foreign born man or woman must use the streets." Bulletin, *Americanization*, June 1, 1919, p. 14. An attempt to meet in a

the notions of fixity which he has only too often brought with him.

VI

To present this modified and expanded curriculum requires far greater preparation and skill on the part of the teachers of immigrants than American school systems are able to command at present. Nothing is so vital in the immediate problem of Americanization as the selection and training of an adequately equipped teaching staff, armed with intimate knowledge of the social background of the life of the various immigrant groups, and imbued with a sympathy that elicits genuine expressions of personality from the pupils. If these qualities can more readily be found

practical way the needs of its thousands of foreign-born employees is the correspondence course in Italian-English inaugurated by the Pennsylvania Railroad system on the lines east of Pittsburgh. Of more than 33,000 foreign-born men working on the entire system, about 25,700 are employed east of Pittsburgh and 7,500 west of that point. The original purpose in establishing the language courses was to make Italians who are largely employed in track maintenance gangs, more efficient workmen by teaching them the English language so that they might better understand the orders of their foremen. The language courses are also utilized to instruct the men in the proper use of their tools, and in the fundamentals of safety, health and sanitation. All of the language lessons, beyond the most elementary, deal with practical subjects. As the course advances the work consists largely in rendering from Italian into English brief instructions relative to the use of tools and implements and information regarding the proper method of laying and repairing track and the fundamental safety rules. One entire pamphlet is devoted to the use of signal rules and two others to the use of track tools. Bulletin *Americanization*, June 1, 1919, p. 10.

among teachers who themselves were either immigrants or are the native-born children of immigrants, and if such teachers are more likely to make their pupils feel at ease, thus making instruction more effective, then the hesitation of assigning classes of immigrants to them, and of having the teachers make judicious use in the classroom of the native tongue of the pupils should not be permitted to stand in the way. It is even open to legitimate doubt whether groupings of adults according to nationality, particularly in the large cities, for purposes of special instruction, and periodic combinations of these groups of pupils for common instruction, would not in the long run yield better results than the practice of huddling together persons of widely divergent mother-tongues, and cultural backgrounds. The failure to classify them carefully according to educational equipment has certainly been one of the most potent factors in the production of the large proportion of elimination in evening schools for adult immigrants. To imagine that good teaching can be done when the class consists of a mixed group of illiterate peasants, mechanics with an elementary school education and professionals with a higher technical training, is to fly in the face of the first principles of pedagogy.

VII

But it is quite conceivable that even with such improvements in content and in method as are here suggested, large numbers of immigrants would not come to the school centers where the instruction is offered. That the present American school building, particu-

larly in the larger cities, is ill adapted for adult immigrant work, is a common complaint among principals and supervisors, and weakens materially their hold upon their clientele even if the technique of their teaching has been considerably advanced. Seating arrangements for juveniles, rather than for grown-up persons, lack of proper recreational equipment in general, the cramped atmosphere of the formal classroom, are not at all attractive to the tired, pleasure seeking yet withal ambitious immigrant adult.¹ There are indications that American school architecture of the future will adapt itself to these new requirements.

¹ The superintendent in charge of the evening schools of Greater New York writes: "The old traditional classroom with its four walls, fixed desks and its two hours of academic instruction in technical language never has attracted the many and has generally failed to hold the few attracted. We failed because we never realized that the foreigners with us were men and women in a foreign land who needed sympathetic neighborly assistance, who could find that generally with their own." He proposes a "new form of attack in the battle for Americanization. It is proposed that the evening school as far as the physical structure will permit is to be the 'Club House' of the foreigner. His learning of English will not be theoretically the main feature although it will be better done as I will show. It will be the place of favorite resort, the successful rival of commercialized amusement, the centre of neighborhood and communal interest as far as the non-English speaking foreigner is concerned. The evening school will closely coöperate with the outside agencies that work for the betterment of living conditions, churches, settlement houses, etc." *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1916-1917*, pp. 23-24. For a discussion of the principles and organization of the newer type of recreation and community center, see *Twentieth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of N. Y. City, 1918*, pp. 9-78.

VIII

However, until sufficient buildings of the modern type are provided, some other means must be found of reaching the masses of foreign-born who are in need of the elements of the language and of the history of the country.¹ It is here that the immigrant community can, with great advantage, coöperate with the educational authorities. Because the immigrant adults do not come to the school-houses, it does not follow that they are to be neglected. On the contrary, filled with a deep sense of devotion to the highest interests

¹ One of the effective means of reaching the immigrant, effective because less informal than the evening schools, is the library. Nearly 800 libraries are taking part in the movement to aid the foreign-born. The New York City library system, with 43 branches, has the largest circulation. The use of books in foreign languages has increased so rapidly that their circulation now reaches nearly 700,000. The supply of foreign-born books has been increased 30% in the last two years. A librarian in one of the larger branches on the East Side of New York City testifies that "definitely and emphatically it is our experience that increases in the circulation of foreign books are always accompanied by increases in English books, particularly in books on learning English, on citizenship and American history and geography. This may imply a common cause, or it may and usually does, indicate that those who come to the library at the call of a Yiddish or Hungarian book, are attracted by the 'easy English' shelf and later become regular readers of English." Ernestine Rose, *Bridging the Gulf*, p. 16; *Library Work with the Foreign-Born*, edited by John Foster Carr. See also article by Edwin W. Gaillard, "What the Library is doing for American Citizenship," *Branch Library News*, published quarterly by the N. Y. Public Library, Vol. 6, No. 4, Dec., 1919. Also pamphlet entitled *Making Americans, How the Library Helps*, by Josephine Gratiaa, published by the St. Louis Public Library, 1919.

of the State, the school authorities should pursue the immigrant to the very heart of his own community, and, if necessary, teach him in those places where he most loves to congregate and where he feels most at home. There are innumerable gathering places of the type of the social center, the settlement, the private clubhouse or clubrooms, maintained by the voluntary coöperation of hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Here, under proper auspices and with proper educational equipment, State-appointed and salaried teachers could bring their message of genuine Americanization. Those familiar with immigrant community life not only see no serious obstacle in the way of such a procedure, but foretell an enthusiastic response on the part of the various immigrant groups. It is almost certain that less difficulties would be encountered by the school authorities, than, for example, they have met in their well-planned efforts to bring instruction into the shops and the factories where immigrants are found in considerable numbers.¹

¹ The experiment, for example, along this line made by the New York City school system has not been very successful, mainly because of the lack of coöperation on the part of the employers. "We have gone into the factories," said the president of the N. Y. City Board of Education at the Americanization Conference of April, 1918, "into the industries and we have organized classes there among the foreign workers for teaching English to foreigners. I should be ashamed as an American citizen to read to you the list that I have in mind of the industries, the firms, . . . who absolutely refused us the chance to organize a class to teach boys and girls in their employ who cannot speak the English language." *Report of the Americanization Conference*, p. 28.

IX

All these methods, together with the recent attempts to go directly into the homes of the foreign-born¹ foreshadow means of Americanization radically different from those used in the past.² The more intimately

¹ The California Immigration and Housing Commission has successfully inaugurated this work under the authority of the so-called "Home Teacher" Act which provides that:

"Boards of School trustees or City Boards of education of any school district, may employ teachers to be known as 'home teachers,' not exceeding one such home teacher for every five hundred units of average daily attendance in the common schools of said district, as shown by the report of the county superintendent of schools for the next preceding school year. It shall be the duty of the home teachers to work in the homes of the pupils, instructing children and adults in matters relating to school attendance and preparation therefor; also in sanitation, in the English language, in household duties, such as purchase, preparation and use of food and of clothing and in the fundamental principles of the American system of government and the rights and duties of citizenship. The qualifications of such teachers shall be a regular kindergarten, primary, elementary or secondary certificate to teach in the schools of California and special fitness to perform the duties of a home teacher; provided that the salaries of such teachers shall be paid from the city or district special school fund." The Home Teacher Act, Sect. 1, 16176.

² For a concise statement of the progress since 1914 in standards of education for immigrants, see H. H. Wheaton, "Establishing Fundamental Standards in the Education of Immigrants," reprinted from the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ended June 30, 1916*. Also Bulletin prepared by H. H. Wheaton for Bureau of Education, 1918, on "Standards and Methods in the Education of Immigrants." Also "Proceedings of Americanization Conference" held in Washington, May 12-15, 1919, published by the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1919. The wide range of topics discussed at this conference may be seen from

the Americanization worker comes into contact with the immigrant population, the more clearly he will see the necessity of starting with the background and with the present-day problems and interests of his pupils; and with sympathetic insight into their struggles will grow the desire to understand and appreciate the culture values of their civilization.

X

All this, of course, is postulated upon the capacity of the immigrant to profit by an intensive and varied curriculum. It might, however, be objected, that since a considerable proportion of the recent immigration consists of unskilled laborers, who besides, are largely a transient population, emigrating back to their homelands as soon as they have saved some money, or as soon as economic depression sets in, much of the labor and ingenuity spent in Americanizing them goes for naught. That a considerable pro-

this partial list of subjects: best technical methods of teaching English; reorganization of administration of educational facilities for Americanization; training of teachers for Americanization problem; uses of school-houses in Americanization; Americanization methods in industry; securing interest of and coöperation with national and local racial organizations and foreign language press; what the foreign-born can give to and need from America; the part of naturalization in Americanization; elimination of imposition and exploitation; the foreign-born in his relation to home and neighborhood; improving housing and sanitation conditions of the foreign-born; best fields for service among foreign-born of various local agencies, such as YMCA's, YWCA's, civic and religious organizations, public libraries, visiting nurse associations, parent-teacher associations, etc.; what the States and the nation can do to help the community.

portion of the foreign influx is migratory there is no doubt. These transients are perhaps not in need of the more elaborate training which is to be given to those who expect to settle here permanently. Facts such as this point to the necessity of differentiating the curriculum into a less intensive and a more intensive course of study.

But it is not altogether true that the residue human material which is coming to form the permanent addition to the American population through immigration, is as unteachable as might be deduced from superficial observation. After an exhaustive study of emigration conditions in Europe, the Immigration Commission of 1911 found that "The present day immigration from Europe to the United States is for the most part drawn from country districts and smaller cities or villages, and is composed largely of the peasantry and unskilled laboring classes. This is particularly true of the races or peoples from countries furnishing the newer immigration, with the conspicuous exception of Russian Hebrews, who are city dwellers by compulsion. Immigration being mainly a result of economic conditions, it is natural that the emigrating spirit should be strongest among those most seriously affected; but notwithstanding this, the present movement is not recruited in the main, from the lowest economic and social strata of the population. In European countries, as in the United States, the poorest and least desirable element in the population, from an economic as well as a social standpoint, is found in the larger cities, and as a rule such cities furnish comparatively few immigrants. Neither do the average or typical emigrants of

to-day represent the lowest in the economic and social scale even among the classes from which they come, a circumstance attributable to both natural and artificial causes. In the first place, emigrating to a strange and distant country, although less of an undertaking than formerly, is still a serious and relatively difficult matter, requiring a degree of courage and resourcefulness not possessed by weaklings of any class. This natural law in the main regulated the earlier European emigration to the United States and under its influence, the present emigration, whether or not desirable as a whole, nevertheless represents the stronger and better element of a particular class from which it is drawn.

“A most potent adjunct to the natural law of selection, however, is the United States Immigration Act, the effect of which in preventing the emigration or even attempted emigration of at least physical and mental defectives, is probably not generally realized. The provisions of the United States Immigration Law are well known among the emigrating classes of Europe, and the large number rejected at European ports or refused admission, after reaching the United States, has a decided influence in retarding emigration and naturally that influence is most potent among those who doubt their ability to meet the law's requirements.”¹

Furthermore, a study of the net increase of population through immigration from 1909–1914, shows that the purely unskilled labor forces form an exceedingly small, if any, part of the final deposit from the stream

¹ *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 1911. Emigration Conditions in Europe, Chapt. II, p. 20, Character of European Immigration.

TABLE X
NET INCREASE OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH IMMIGRATION, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION GROUPS
(Compiled from Reports of Commission^{er} General of Immigration, 1909-1914)

OCCUPATION GROUP	YEAR OF ARRIVAL														Per cent Net Increase 1909-1914	Per cent of Net Increase																																																																																
	1909		1910		1911		1912		1913		1914		1909-1914																																																																																			
	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed																																																																																		
Agriculture	Immig. Aliens	180,221	Non-Imm. Aliens	36,880	Total Admitted	217,104	Emigr. Aliens	3,950	Non-Emigr. Aliens	6,520	Total Departed	12,170	Immig. Aliens	300,538	Non-Imm. Aliens	25,842	Total Admitted	326,380	Emigr. Aliens	6,097	Non-Emigr. Aliens	12,866	Total Departed	18,963	Immig. Aliens	185,712	Non-Imm. Aliens	18,133	Total Admitted	203,845	Emigr. Aliens	18,078	Non-Emigr. Aliens	15,332	Total Departed	33,410	Immig. Aliens	191,818	Non-Imm. Aliens	31,076	Total Admitted	222,894	Emigr. Aliens	11,785	Non-Emigr. Aliens	24,683	Total Departed	36,468	Immig. Aliens	333,285	Non-Imm. Aliens	53,810	Total Admitted	387,095	Emigr. Aliens	10,068	Non-Emigr. Aliens	39,301	Total Departed	49,369	Immig. Aliens	302,495	Non-Imm. Aliens	30,930	Total Admitted	333,425	Emigr. Aliens	11,205	Non-Emigr. Aliens	28,972	Total Departed	40,177	Immig. Aliens	1,491,072	Non-Imm. Aliens	190,671	Total Admitted	1,680,743	Emigr. Aliens	63,183	Non-Emigr. Aliens	127,674	Total Departed	190,857	Per cent Departed	11.2	Net Increase 1909-1914	1,499,886	Per cent of Net Increase	54.5						
Commerce and Trade	Immig. Aliens	19,331	Non-Imm. Aliens	15,575	Total Admitted	34,906	Emigr. Aliens	6,257	Non-Emigr. Aliens	16,503	Total Departed	22,820	Immig. Aliens	26,236	Non-Imm. Aliens	17,189	Total Admitted	43,425	Emigr. Aliens	6,815	Non-Emigr. Aliens	19,833	Total Departed	26,648	Immig. Aliens	29,419	Non-Imm. Aliens	18,325	Total Admitted	47,744	Emigr. Aliens	8,436	Non-Emigr. Aliens	22,292	Total Departed	30,728	Immig. Aliens	27,699	Non-Imm. Aliens	19,508	Total Admitted	47,207	Emigr. Aliens	8,409	Non-Emigr. Aliens	25,740	Total Departed	34,149	Immig. Aliens	33,448	Non-Imm. Aliens	20,190	Total Admitted	53,638	Emigr. Aliens	8,395	Non-Emigr. Aliens	25,305	Total Departed	33,700	Immig. Aliens	39,018	Non-Imm. Aliens	19,334	Total Admitted	58,352	Emigr. Aliens	8,300	Non-Emigr. Aliens	27,881	Total Departed	36,181	Immig. Aliens	175,151	Non-Imm. Aliens	110,121	Total Admitted	285,272	Emigr. Aliens	46,612	Non-Emigr. Aliens	137,614	Total Departed	184,226	Per cent Departed	64.5	Net Increase 1909-1914	101,036	Per cent of Net Increase	3.4						
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	Immig. Aliens	73,631	Non-Imm. Aliens	21,917	Total Admitted	95,551	Emigr. Aliens	18,340	Non-Emigr. Aliens	20,026	Total Departed	38,366	Immig. Aliens	115,100	Non-Imm. Aliens	18,527	Total Admitted	133,627	Emigr. Aliens	18,093	Non-Emigr. Aliens	23,787	Total Departed	41,880	Immig. Aliens	121,980	Non-Imm. Aliens	21,460	Total Admitted	143,440	Emigr. Aliens	28,997	Non-Emigr. Aliens	27,079	Total Departed	56,076	Immig. Aliens	102,281	Non-Imm. Aliens	20,552	Total Admitted	122,833	Emigr. Aliens	30,557	Non-Emigr. Aliens	32,470	Total Departed	63,047	Immig. Aliens	132,436	Non-Imm. Aliens	23,230	Total Admitted	155,666	Emigr. Aliens	26,915	Non-Emigr. Aliens	31,814	Total Departed	58,729	Immig. Aliens	145,334	Non-Imm. Aliens	19,576	Total Admitted	164,910	Emigr. Aliens	31,007	Non-Emigr. Aliens	38,559	Total Departed	69,566	Immig. Aliens	690,765	Non-Imm. Aliens	125,262	Total Admitted	816,027	Emigr. Aliens	153,879	Non-Emigr. Aliens	173,735	Total Departed	327,614	Per cent Departed	40.1	Net Increase 1909-1914	488,413	Per cent of Net Increase	17.7						
Professional Service	Immig. Aliens	7,833	Non-Imm. Aliens	7,890	Total Admitted	15,723	Emigr. Aliens	1,738	Non-Emigr. Aliens	7,757	Total Departed	9,515	Immig. Aliens	10,120	Non-Imm. Aliens	8,785	Total Admitted	18,905	Emigr. Aliens	3,177	Non-Emigr. Aliens	10,037	Total Departed	13,214	Immig. Aliens	11,729	Non-Imm. Aliens	10,263	Total Admitted	21,992	Emigr. Aliens	2,733	Non-Emigr. Aliens	10,996	Total Departed	13,729	Immig. Aliens	11,303	Non-Imm. Aliens	9,819	Total Admitted	21,122	Emigr. Aliens	2,922	Non-Emigr. Aliens	13,163	Total Departed	16,081	Immig. Aliens	13,104	Non-Imm. Aliens	10,999	Total Admitted	24,103	Emigr. Aliens	2,827	Non-Emigr. Aliens	12,879	Total Departed	15,706	Immig. Aliens	14,173	Non-Imm. Aliens	11,253	Total Admitted	25,426	Emigr. Aliens	2,771	Non-Emigr. Aliens	14,508	Total Departed	17,279	Immig. Aliens	68,262	Non-Imm. Aliens	59,009	Total Admitted	127,271	Emigr. Aliens	16,188	Non-Emigr. Aliens	69,340	Total Departed	85,528	Per cent Departed	67.1	Net Increase 1909-1914	41,743	Per cent of Net Increase	1.5						
Personal and Domestic Service	Immig. Aliens	66,250	Non-Imm. Aliens	14,158	Total Admitted	80,408	Emigr. Aliens	10,833	Non-Emigr. Aliens	16,238	Total Departed	27,071	Immig. Aliens	99,216	Non-Imm. Aliens	13,691	Total Admitted	112,907	Emigr. Aliens	8,900	Non-Emigr. Aliens	18,054	Total Departed	26,954	Immig. Aliens	110,185	Non-Imm. Aliens	15,308	Total Admitted	125,493	Emigr. Aliens	9,787	Non-Emigr. Aliens	17,998	Total Departed	27,785	Immig. Aliens	119,629	Non-Imm. Aliens	17,201	Total Admitted	136,920	Emigr. Aliens	14,125	Non-Emigr. Aliens	21,905	Total Departed	36,080	Immig. Aliens	143,431	Non-Imm. Aliens	19,270	Total Admitted	162,701	Emigr. Aliens	16,757	Non-Emigr. Aliens	20,835	Total Departed	37,592	Immig. Aliens	148,065	Non-Imm. Aliens	16,348	Total Admitted	164,413	Emigr. Aliens	18,761	Non-Emigr. Aliens	23,834	Total Departed	42,595	Immig. Aliens	686,776	Non-Imm. Aliens	96,066	Total Admitted	782,842	Emigr. Aliens	79,163	Non-Emigr. Aliens	118,824	Total Departed	197,987	Per cent Departed	25.2	Net Increase 1909-1914	585,015	Per cent of Net Increase	21.2						
Public Service	Immig. Aliens	253	Non-Imm. Aliens	636	Total Admitted	889	Emigr. Aliens	48	Non-Emigr. Aliens	606	Total Departed	654	Immig. Aliens	264	Non-Imm. Aliens	551	Total Admitted	815	Emigr. Aliens	163	Non-Emigr. Aliens	711	Total Departed	874	Immig. Aliens	306	Non-Imm. Aliens	659	Total Admitted	965	Emigr. Aliens	150	Non-Emigr. Aliens	930	Total Departed	1,080	Immig. Aliens	382	Non-Imm. Aliens	780	Total Admitted	1,162	Emigr. Aliens	134	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,015	Total Departed	1,149	Immig. Aliens	365	Non-Imm. Aliens	763	Total Admitted	1,128	Emigr. Aliens	98	Non-Emigr. Aliens	846	Total Departed	944	Immig. Aliens	428	Non-Imm. Aliens	438	Total Admitted	866	Emigr. Aliens	102	Non-Emigr. Aliens	741	Total Departed	843	Immig. Aliens	1,908	Non-Imm. Aliens	3,827	Total Admitted	5,825	Emigr. Aliens	695	Non-Emigr. Aliens	4,849	Total Departed	5,544	Per cent Departed	95.1	Net Increase 1909-1914	281	Per cent of Net Increase	.01						
Navigation	Immig. Aliens	3,703	Non-Imm. Aliens	2,573	Total Admitted	6,336	Emigr. Aliens	532	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,808	Total Departed	2,340	Immig. Aliens	4,869	Non-Imm. Aliens	2,039	Total Admitted	6,908	Emigr. Aliens	640	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,447	Total Departed	2,087	Immig. Aliens	4,509	Non-Imm. Aliens	23,113	Total Admitted	27,622	Emigr. Aliens	652	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,722	Total Departed	2,374	Immig. Aliens	4,124	Non-Imm. Aliens	2,251	Total Admitted	6,375	Emigr. Aliens	625	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,774	Total Departed	2,399	Immig. Aliens	1,174	Non-Imm. Aliens	2,399	Total Admitted	1,425	Emigr. Aliens	696	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,661	Total Departed	2,357	Immig. Aliens	5,185	Non-Imm. Aliens	2,521	Total Admitted	7,706	Emigr. Aliens	709	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,941	Total Departed	2,650	Immig. Aliens	17,529	Non-Imm. Aliens	34,896	Total Admitted	62,425	Emigr. Aliens	3,854	Non-Emigr. Aliens	10,353	Total Departed	14,207	Per cent Departed	34.2	Net Increase 1909-1914	27,318	Per cent of Net Increase	.9						
Fishing	Immig. Aliens	761	Non-Imm. Aliens	375	Total Admitted	1,136	Emigr. Aliens	99	Non-Emigr. Aliens	315	Total Departed	414	Immig. Aliens	1,225	Non-Imm. Aliens	297	Total Admitted	1,522	Emigr. Aliens	148	Non-Emigr. Aliens	209	Total Departed	357	Immig. Aliens	959	Non-Imm. Aliens	256	Total Admitted	1,215	Emigr. Aliens	131	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,088	Total Departed	1,219	Immig. Aliens	755	Non-Imm. Aliens	286	Total Admitted	1,041	Emigr. Aliens	202	Non-Emigr. Aliens	384	Total Departed	586	Immig. Aliens	291,842	Non-Imm. Aliens	229,037	Total Admitted	31,214	Emigr. Aliens	261	Non-Emigr. Aliens	279,831	Total Departed	228,689	Immig. Aliens	22,934	Non-Imm. Aliens	251,623	Total Admitted	274,557	Emigr. Aliens	98,744	Non-Emigr. Aliens	177,369	Total Departed	276,113	Immig. Aliens	5,906	Non-Imm. Aliens	1,766	Total Admitted	7,702	Emigr. Aliens	1,186	Non-Emigr. Aliens	964,212	Total Departed	430,964	Per cent Departed	44.1	Net Increase 1909-1914	1,404,170	Per cent of Net Increase	.1						
Unskilled	Immig. Aliens	176,077	Non-Imm. Aliens	47,018	Total Admitted	223,095	Emigr. Aliens	119,672	Non-Emigr. Aliens	65,267	Total Departed	184,939	Immig. Aliens	286,289	Non-Imm. Aliens	25,250	Total Admitted	311,539	Emigr. Aliens	90,039	Non-Emigr. Aliens	42,961	Total Departed	133,000	Immig. Aliens	158,219	Non-Imm. Aliens	20,452	Total Admitted	178,671	Emigr. Aliens	174,551	Non-Emigr. Aliens	63,900	Total Departed	238,451	Immig. Aliens	137,717	Non-Imm. Aliens	22,390	Total Admitted	160,107	Emigr. Aliens	210,231	Non-Emigr. Aliens	81,611	Total Admitted	291,842	Emigr. Aliens	229,037	Non-Emigr. Aliens	31,214	Total Departed	260,251	Immig. Aliens	192,350	Non-Imm. Aliens	87,481	Total Admitted	279,831	Emigr. Aliens	228,689	Non-Emigr. Aliens	22,934	Total Departed	251,623	Immig. Aliens	177,369	Non-Imm. Aliens	98,744	Total Admitted	276,113	Emigr. Aliens	98,744	Non-Emigr. Aliens	177,369	Total Departed	276,113	Immig. Aliens	1,216,028	Non-Imm. Aliens	169,258	Total Admitted	1,385,286	Emigr. Aliens	964,212	Non-Emigr. Aliens	430,964	Total Departed	1,404,170	Per cent Departed	101.3	Net Increase 1909-1914	—18,890	Per cent of Net Increase	— .7
GRAND TOTAL	Immig. Aliens	328,126	Non-Imm. Aliens	147,022	Total Admitted	675,148	Emigr. Aliens	163,489	Non-Emigr. Aliens	135,100	Total Departed	298,589	Immig. Aliens	843,837	Non-Imm. Aliens	112,171	Total Admitted	956,028	Emigr. Aliens	134,072	Non-Emigr. Aliens	129,905	Total Departed	263,977	Immig. Aliens	623,018	Non-Imm. Aliens	127,969	Total Admitted	750,987	Emigr. Aliens	243,515	Non-Emigr. Aliens	160,477	Total Departed	403,992	Immig. Aliens	595,708	Non-Imm. Aliens	123,953	Total Admitted	719,661	Emigr. Aliens	279,010	Non-Emigr. Aliens	202,745	Total Departed	481,755	Immig. Aliens	891,259	Non-Imm. Aliens	162,126	Total Admitted	1,053,385	Emigr. Aliens	258,367	Non-Emigr. Aliens	220,508	Total Departed	478,875	Immig. Aliens	884,509	Non-Imm. Aliens	123,635	Total Admitted	1,008,144	Emigr. Aliens	250,569	Non-Emigr. Aliens	235,792	Total Departed	486,361	Immig. Aliens	4,366,577	Non-Imm. Aliens	796,876	Total Admitted	5,163,453	Emigr. Aliens	1,328,972	Non-Emigr. Aliens	1,064,487	Total Departed	2,413,459	Per cent Departed	46.7	Net Increase 1909-1914	2,729,244	Per cent of Net Increase	100*						

* Percentages of net increase computed on basis of total increase (2,748,134), and not on basis of net increase which is 2,729,244 (2,748,134—18,890).

of immigration. They come and go, while almost one-half of those who remain fall within occupation groups whose members presumably have had considerable, many of them somewhat advanced instruction. Thus, while 54.5% of the net increase was composed of farm laborers and farmers, almost $\frac{1}{4}$ (22.7%) were drawn from commerce and trade, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, professional and public service. Approximately another fourth (21.2%) came from the ranks of the personal and domestic service group. Almost 44% (43.9%) then, came from what might be called tutored classes, leaving the remnant of 2% (1.65%) from occupation groups, fishing and navigation, to be added to the presumably untutored group. The task of Americanization is thus much less onerous and much more hopeful than most workers in the field of immigrant education perceive.¹

¹ This view of the matter would seem to be strengthened when it is found that the newer immigration is relatively as skilled as the older immigration. When the total immigration from Northwestern Europe during the earlier period (1871-1882) is compared with that from Southeastern Europe during the later (1899-1909), it is found that the older immigration had only 11.4% of its members skilled workers, while the newer immigration had 16.6%. On this basis of comparison the newer immigration has proportionately 50% more skilled workers than had the earlier. If these two immigrations are compared solely in relation to the number of immigrants with occupation, the conclusions, somewhat changed, are: 18.1% of the recent immigrants from Southeastern Europe are skilled, whereas 22.9% of the older set were skilled. Using this base, the workers of the new immigration are relatively eight-tenths as skilled as those of the old instead of less than one-half, as the figures of the Immigration Commission of 1911 and of Jenks and Lauck lead one to suppose. In view of the discrepancy be-

XI

But after all possible improvements are made in the technique of Americanization, the basic concept still remains inadequate when viewed in the light of the deeper implications of a growing American culture. Americanization, as currently conceived, is still too much of a one-sided process. It assumes too often that the immigrant is to take rather than to give, to shed his own personality rather than adapt the finer qualities of American life to himself and thus grow in the direction of his true self. It encourages imitation rather than originality. In thus putting a premium upon self-effacement, it diminishes the possibilities of self-expression on the part of the talented among the immigrant groups, or rather shunts them off into already existing well-marked channels. It thus opposes the free interaction and cross fertilization of many cultures. In doing this, it sets itself against the most hopeful currents of contemporary American life.

tween the percentages as computed upon different bases the reasonable conclusion is drawn: "considering that since the first base shows the newer immigration to include relatively more skilled workers than the old immigration, while the latter reverses the situation to a less degree, is it not fair to conclude, in view of the inadequacy of either of these bases as a sole criterion, that skilled craftsmen are now relatively not less important than in the earlier immigration? Is it not accurate to state that the new immigration is approximately as skilled as the old?" Paul H. Douglas, in *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XVI, June, 1919, pp. 401-402. "Is the New Immigration More Unskilled than the Old?"

CHAPTER VIII

DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC FUSION

I

Among these promising streams of thought there is none that reaches such depths of the national life as the reinterpretation of the concept of democracy in the light of contemporary experience. Between the deeper implications of this term and the common notion of Americanization there is an almost unbridgeable gulf. For, the central idea of one negates the central idea of the other. The latter, striving to create a homogeneous people by a process which cannot but produce superficial similarities only and the illusion of unity, ignores the claims of individuality. The former, seeking to find ever deeper bases of agreement among men and among social groups, discovers in the recognition of individuality the sure foundation of social harmony.

Curiously enough, the popular imagination comes nearer to seizing the kernel in the concept of democracy than many a learned and labored analysis of it. To the American mind, for instance, Abraham Lincoln is the embodiment of democratic personality. His freedom in mingling with men of all sorts, his simplicity, almost crudity of manners, his surpassing warmth and human sympathy, his just treatment of high and low alike, are the qualities of his character on which

the people's fancy loves to linger. Why these traits are prized rather than others and why they should be used as a sort of measure by which to determine the degree of a person's democratic attitude, is generally not clearly conscious in the minds of the people. It requires, however, only a simply analysis to determine what is the basis of their unconscious judgment. What is freedom of intercourse but accessibility of person—a lack of that aloofness which is prone to be interpreted by those who are shunned as a slighting of their personality or as a sign that they are considered inferior? What is simplicity of behavior and dress but a sort of protest against artificial reinforcements of individuality, a disdain for pretense and sham, a desire to let personality count on its own merit? What is warmth and human sympathy but proof of a capacity for putting one's self into another person's position and of giving to the person's experiences the emotional valuation that he himself places upon them? What is just treatment of high and low alike, but an insistence upon judging the individual on the merits of his case rather than being swayed by the prestige and power of a privileged person? The roots of the craving for democracy are thus imbedded in the instinctive impulse of self-assertion and of the desire for recognition. To be democratic means to respect the claims of another's individuality, while at the same time insisting that one's own claims be recognized. These claims must not be fictitious or artificially reinforced by inherited status or privilege, but must be intrinsic. Based upon this concept, a democratic society is one in which social relations are such as to permit individuality to voice its claims and to control the

means through which these may be satisfied. Freedom of speech and of assembly, free access to life opportunities in commerce, trade and the professions, freedom to prepare for the proper use of these opportunities through education, thus become the corner-stone in the edifice of democracy.

II

Historically, the democratic movement exhibits the same characteristics. Political democracy with its ideals of universal suffrage and of representative government responsive to the will of the people, is the attempt to secure recognition of the individual in the sphere of government. It enthrones the individual judgment in matters of politics. "One man, one vote, and the majority wins" is its rule of conduct. To be sure, in their zeal, the advocates of democracy have placed too much faith in the value of the judgment of the citizen in so far as they considered him capable of deciding rightly on every question in the sphere of government, from broad matters of general policy to minute technicalities of administration. In the main, however, the current has been in the direction of liberating men's minds from the tradition of political incapacity and of the exclusive privilege of government supposed to be lodged only in the hands of a selected few.

III

The more recent movement for industrial democracy, also, is very largely individualistic in its aims. Its objective is the just distribution of wealth among those who produce it. Combinations of labor, radical

political parties, such as the socialist parties, though coöperative in their methods of propaganda and of attack, are yet essentially emphasizing the claims of the individual worker in the economic struggle. The united working class is merely a temporary instrument for the overthrow of an iniquitous social order. After victory has been achieved and the social revolution successfully accomplished, classes will disappear and with them also the working class. The individual, free and untrammelled, will emerge as the highest achievement of the class struggle.

While political democracy has very nearly reached its zenith in the modern world, the movement for industrial democracy is just beginning to gather momentum.

IV

In the meantime, there have been clear signs of the rise of another significant phase of the democratic movement. It is the insistence upon the recognition of the claims of cultural group-individuality. Language, literature, history, characteristic folkways and mores, all those culture products that together make up nationality in the modern sense of the word, are the constituent elements of this group-personality. Its free unfolding and conservation are the aim of the movement for cultural democracy. No more striking examples of its elemental force can be given than the rise of the suppressed nationalities during the great European War. Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Armenians, Jews, fought for the recognition of their cultural group-individuality. In two respects, however, this last phase of the democratic movement

differs from the first two. It urges the claims not primarily of the individual, but rather of the group as a whole. It stresses recognition of the group as an organic unit. Moreover, the interests championed are immaterial rather than material, as is the case in political and industrial democracy. It is rather spiritual or ideal values that the group wishes to conserve.

While in every case of a struggle for cultural democracy there has been a large admixture of political elements, as for example in the case of the nationalities of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the distinguishing feature has always been the controversy that raged about the retention or suppression of those cultural values which the groups prized most highly.

V

In America, these political ingredients are happily absent altogether. To speak of cultural democracy here, means something nearer to the unalloyed sense of the phrase. It is absurd to think of the creation of separate political nationalities out of the immigrant groups in the United States. Apart from the utter artificiality and needlessness of such a scheme, there is not a sufficient basis for it in either size or geographic compactness of the various ethnic groups that could form effective nationalities. If cultural democracy is to have any meaning at all, it must mean the recognition of the value for American life of the cultural heritages of the immigrant groups and of freedom to foster and conserve some of these values through voluntary communal organization.

But, it may be urged, to recognize the claims of

such cultural democracy, is to plant the seeds for the growth of separate groups and possibly for the development eventually of political nationalities; in any event, to set in operation forces that make for heterogeneity rather than for homogeneity, for disharmony rather than for unity. To conceive of the problem in this fashion is to underestimate profoundly the efficacy of the unifying forces of contemporary American life. This is clear even if one judges solely from the data on intermarriage.¹ If, as is highly probable, the rate of intermarriage increases with the advancing generations and if the largest proportion of the fusion takes place in the mediocre rather than the higher culture levels, it would seem to be the duty of those immigrant groups that are in the process of dissolution to foster an intelligent cultural community consciousness, so that when fusion does take place, each group will have something to contribute to the newly created community.

But there are still more deeply rooted misconceptions that prompt the fear of heterogeneity and the desire, therefore, to efface as thoroughly and as quickly as possible the variegated cultural backgrounds of the immigrant peoples. The first of these misconceptions centers around the nature and place of individuality in social life; the other deals with the process of assimilation itself.

VI

Individuality, in the sense of a unique, distinctive combination of physical and mental traits, once formed

¹ See Chapters IV and V.

as the result of the interaction of the individual's inherited nature and his social environment, tends to persist in its characteristic activity in spite of all obstacles. The same is true of group individuality, such as that of a nation, formed by the unified influences of geographic environment, racial traits, and historical development. Long periods of isolation, together with the sanction of tradition, tend further to fix this individuality. When balked or blocked in its expression, it is prone to become irritated and to resent interference. Much the same feeling of irritation is experienced when confronted with a new and different individuality.¹ It is to the unpleasantness involved in a change of habit life that the "passion for homogeneity" and its emotional derivative, the spirit of intolerance, can be traced.

VII

But equally as strong as the craving for the old, is the craving for the new. This has its roots in the instinct of curiosity. And because mental preferences or ideals, within very broad limits, can be taught both to individuals and to nations, it is not illusory to think that, just as the passion for uniformity is very largely a socially induced and socially cultivated attitude of mind, so a passion for uniqueness or differentness can be developed as an antidote or perhaps as a complement to the former. For, one need only remember a fact too often ignored by educators in their practical efforts to develop the true individuality of their pupils,

¹ See F. H. Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, p. 94. Also *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 282.

namely, that differences between individuals and between groups are as inherent and as common as similarities; and since in the nature of things, these differences are to be expected, it is necessary to accustom the growing mind to the fact of differentness. But this alone would result in little more than a sort of negative adaptation. It is necessary to direct the instinct of curiosity and to convert into an active search for the new and the unique, thus fostering not only tolerance but developing a "passion" for uniqueness and distinctiveness. For America to trample out ruthlessly significant and valuable differences merely because they are differences, would mean that it failed to utilize the great stimulus the immigrant cultural heritages offer it, to develop a broad spirit of tolerance not only, but to accustom the minds of the growing generations to the newer concept of social harmony rather than feeding their imaginations exclusively on the beauties and the profits of social uniformity.

VIII

Still less impatient would the native-born American of the old white stock be with the cultural heritage of the immigrant if he knew more clearly what happens in the mind of the new settler in the process of assimilation. The immigrant begins his life in the new environment by wearing different clothes, eating different foods, living under different housing conditions, working under different labor conditions, using different conveyances for travel and learning a different language. The superficial habits acquired in the old

world milieu are sloughed off. The outer shell changes. He merges his habit self in the habit life of the new community. Soon he awakens with a rude jolt to the realization that he is outwardly a different being. And having adopted different habits, he supposes there must be some good reason for having done so. For is he not in the habit of reasoning about himself and his acts? In other words, after having unconsciously slipped into the new habit life, he begins to justify his acceptance of it. He begins to rationalize it. He finds he has developed a preference for his new habit life. It is here that the danger in the process of assimilation lurks. With the shedding of superficial traits has gone imperceptibly a change in some deeper habits of thought and of action. It may be that, plunged from a comparatively simple, undifferentiated economic environment into one that is highly complex and competitive, there has been developed the preference for a different type of intelligence, the materialistic, the individualistic or the exploiting type as contrasted with the coöperative type. With this may have come a cynical disregard of the finer, less "practical" values of life, which in a more tranquil and less dynamic environment he had come to prize for their own sake. The danger is not so much that he finds himself in a new frame of mind, as that he tends to justify it at all costs.

IX

That there is much in American life which, after having been imitated by the eager immigrant, is hardly justifiable or "rationalizable," cannot be denied.

There is only one way to prevent him from rationalizing habits and values not worth while. It is so to reconstruct the life of the community into which the immigrant comes as a stranger, that he will acquire only such habits as are worthy of rationalization. But this requires in most instances a radical remaking of the structure of community life. It means more progressive education, more wholesome recreation, more liberal and more honest politics, more sanitary housing, and more equitable industrial relations. The immigrant, in this sense, becomes a perennial challenge to the ethically minded native, compelling him to ask himself soul-searching questions about the inner and the outer life of America. To deprive the immigrant and his children, then, of some of the ideal values derived from their cultural tradition is to rob them of the very standard or mental yardstick by which he may test the values he finds himself accepting uncritically; in other words, to place a premium upon blind conformity to prevailing modes of thought and of action.

X

It is, then, highly pertinent to ask if the time has not come for America to expand its traditional concept of democracy to include cultural, together with political and industrial democracy. Remembering the conditions of ethnic fusion shown to be existing among the various immigrant groups, the advocate of social and cultural homogeneity might be tempted to give his grudging assent to this modification of a time-honored social ideal. For, he might argue, the cultural autonomy which he fears might result if each

immigrant group were encouraged to conserve its cultural heritage, will at best be temporary. The communal organizations developed among them for this purpose will vanish with the advent of the new assimilated generations. Intermarriage among the ethnic groups, irresistible in its forward sweep, will effectually fuse the different groups and thus of necessity produce a new cultural heritage.

But what about groups that either cannot or will not intermarry, as for instance, the Negroes, the Jews, or at any rate intermarry to such a slight extent that fusion in their case is for practical purposes nonexistent? Enforced miscegenation is, of course, out of the question. But even if racial homogeneity were a desirable national ideal, it is extremely doubtful if it can ever be achieved completely. Thus far the fusion of the various white ethnic stocks does not seem to have produced a real blend.¹ The coexistence of

¹ See "Study of Old Americans" by Dr. Ales Hrdlička, curator of physical anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, *Journal of Heredity*, VI, p. 509, Nov., 1914. Also "The Old White Americans" in the *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Americanists*, Washington, 1917. "One of the main objects of his study was to determine whether the descendants of the early American settlers, living in a new environment, and more or less constantly intermarrying were being amalgamated into a distinct sub-type of the white race. Enough has already been found, as this preliminary report shows, to prove that such amalgamation has not taken place to any important degree. The persistence in heredity of certain features, which run down even through six or eight generations is one of the remarkable results brought out by the study. If the process could continue for a few hundred years, Dr. Hrdlička thinks, it might reach a point where one could speak of the members of old American families as of a distinct stock. But so far

racial varieties with a strong spirit of national unity in France, Switzerland, Italy and even Germany would tend to prove that racial homogeneity is not an absolute essential of national unity. If, then, the former is not to be considered the summum bonum of national development, then failure to fuse biologically need not be counted as something running counter to the democratic ideal. The concept of democracy must, therefore, be further expanded to include ethnic stocks, which, though mentally and morally adjusted, nevertheless remain biologically more or less distinct. Whether in any specific case it would have been more advantageous for the group to have fused or to have remained intact, is as impossible to ascertain, as it is profitless to speculate upon. For, if the group disappears there is no way of telling what it might have contributed if it had not fused. And similarly, if the group had kept intact, there is no means of finding out what its contributions would have been if it had fused.

XI

America with her unique experience of multiform contacts of races and peoples is in a position to invest the concept of democracy with a broader and richer meaning than any nation has done thus far. She can, if she will, set to work to mold her future civilization consciously and utilize to the full the numberless heritages brought to her shores. She can, if she will,

this point has not been reached; the Americans are almost as diverse and variable, it appears, as were their first ancestors in this country." From the *Journal of Heredity*, March, 1917, pp. 104-105. "The Melting Pot a Myth."

develop the principle of tolerance as no people has yet dared to do. She can, if she will, encourage the search for the unique and the distinctive in social life, side by side with a strong emphasis upon the basically human interests. She can, if she will, make of herself the greatest democratic republic in the history of man.

CHAPTER IX

A SUMMARY

I

The Great European War shocked America into painful self-consciousness of her nationhood. Now, upon the threshold of a new era in her history, questionings about her ideal of national life continue to arise with peculiar insistence. For, the spell of century-long isolation is broken and she stands in the broad daylight of a new international order.

To play her part effectively without, she must achieve true national unity within. But what shall be the nature of this unity? Care-free, optimistic, comfortable, America before the war trusted to the miracle of the "melting pot" to create a nation out of the polyglot ethnic stocks in her midst. Like so many other illusions, however, this, too, was mercilessly shattered. And in the wake of the disillusionment came doubt as to the validity of such an aim. Is it mingling of blood that America shall strive for? Or shall she set up as her ultimate goal the harmonization of ideas and ideals and the common appropriation of the hoarded cultural treasures brought to her shores, so that she may produce the richest civilization yet known in history?

II

To the student of social forces in contemporary American life these basic questions seem beclouded by

numberless minor controversies on methods of assimilation and Americanization, which, though valuable in themselves, nowhere touch the core of the problem. He finds neither reliable data nor a comprehensive, unifying point of view from which to interpret them. Wise and sympathetic insight alternates with generalizations that are superficial and often flippant; and, venturing to examine the underlying assumptions, he is soon caught in a veritable jungle of conflicting race theories and more or less specious sociological reasoning.

The first task, then, would seem to be to approach the whole problem from a more secure basis than can be furnished by observation and reflection. To be guided in formulating public policy by results secured solely in these two ways would, of course, be hazardous. No less unwise, however, would it be to discard these findings altogether, because it is through the suggestions which they yield that valuable working hypotheses are framed and an understanding is obtained of the inner meaning of the problem. Thus, measurable facts on assimilation, coupled with and supplemented by materials gathered through observation and reflection would together present a reasonably complete picture of the problem.

In this study, this much-needed new approach to the discussion is made through the aid of intermarriage statistics. These furnish concrete, measurable quantities and can be made to serve as an index of ethnic fusion. But intermarriage here is treated essentially as a sociological, rather than as a biologic fact. The mingling of persons of different nationalities and of different generations (foreign-born, native-born

of foreign parents, and native-born of native parents) has significance here primarily as a cross-fertilization of different cultures and civilizations. It is this thought which is the central theme of the study, namely, the possibility of so controlling the underlying social-psychic forces in American community life as to ensure the full unfolding of the creative powers of the immigrant populations. This involves nothing short of a conscious molding of the coming civilization of America. What more fascinating task can there be for a nation than to set about deliberately and planfully to create its own future character? Guided by this unifying point of view the vast mass of detailed facts and interpretations hitherto largely undigested and unorganized, can easily be made to fall into an orderly procession. It becomes possible to formulate a philosophy of assimilation in America.

III

Quite naturally, the statistical method of approach has its very definite limitations. There is first the paucity, the almost complete absence of reliable figures on intermarriage. Until the problems of race fusion are given much more attention in government statistics than they now occupy, unofficial investigators, with far less extensive facilities at their command, will be compelled to gather the facts piecemeal, now for one community, now for another; now for this nationality, and now for the other. But there is another difficulty, one which inheres in the nature of the intermarriage ratio as an index of assimilation. Intermarriage is a test of group cohesion; it is a severe, perhaps the

severest test. But it is not the only test. It is conceivable that an individual will sever all connections with his traditional cultural group and yet not marry outside of that group. In other words, he may have thoroughly assimilated the habits, ideas and aspirations of a different group and still stop short of biologic fusion. Intermarriage, then, is not a complete index of assimilation, but must be taken in conjunction with other tests of group solidarity, such as, for example, voluntary affiliation with characteristic group or communal activities. Within the limits thus set by these two obstacles, the facts of intermarriage offer an unusually illuminating approach to the problem of ethnic amalgamation as it is proceeding in America.

IV

Viewing the field of inquiry in its entirety, this study can, of course, claim to be but a very modest beginning. The greatest city in the United States, harboring the largest proportion of persons of foreign extraction, was selected as a sort of test case. If the forces of amalgamation are at work here, they are perhaps even more effective in their operation in smaller communities. This is the underlying assumption upon which the generalization of the data for New York City proceeds; and, from what is known of community life in smaller centers of population, this would seem to be, on the whole, a reasonable assumption to make.

The most striking fact revealed by the figures presented here, is the great contrast between the foreign-born (first generation) and their children (second

generation) with regard to the proportion of intermarriage among them. This significant difference is the pivot around which most of the discussion turns, and it is proper that this should be so. For, in the life of the immigrant community the break between the first and the second generations is the crisis point. Confronted with a strange environment, the immigrant is confused and unnerved. Before he has fairly recovered his mental balance, his children have outstripped him, and he remains spiritually isolated in his own household. The damage is done, and it is a rare case indeed where it can ever be wholly repaired. From the point of view of the native American community whose ancestry dates back several generations, nothing is more important than to understand clearly and sympathetically what really happens when the break occurs, and how the transition from one cultural life to another can be controlled and directed for the greatest benefit of both. In the intelligent manipulation of the subtle social-psychic forces and undercurrents lies the hope of America not only to prevent the countless tragedies of readjustment but to utilize for her own expanding life the intellectual and emotional achievements and capacities of her immigrant peoples.

The explanation of why this unusual discrepancy exists between the proportions of intermarriage of the first and of the second generations is, however, quite distinct from the ethical evaluation of the fact itself. What is more, it ought to be kept distinct, if the student is not to lose himself in the mazes of the controversy over what constitutes desirable and undesirable assimilation. A careful statistical analysis of

the figures treated in this study discovers the cause of the large increase in intermarriage to be essentially a disintegration of group loyalty or a progressive weakening of the attitude of group solidarity among the members of the second generation. There is much less room, by far, for debate upon this point than there is upon the question of what the proper interpretation should be of this relaxation of group bonds. A more refined statistical method may conceivably discover another cause, and thus propose another explanation of the fact. But, after all available scientific methods have been exhausted, debate ceases and the result arrived at stands. Not so with the ethical evaluation. Rapid fusion of the second generation may be interpreted as good or bad or indifferent, depending upon the ultimate ideal of assimilation which the interpreter happens to espouse. Much of the confusion in contemporary thought upon Americanization, and not a little of the heat and bitterness, would disappear, if the advocates of the various views kept this distinction clearly in mind. Throughout this study, then, facts and interpretations have been scrupulously kept apart.

V

The basic principles and methods briefly set out thus far, form the guiding ideas of this study. Within the boundaries marked out by them the materials have been ordered in three parts. The first is in the nature of a broad historical and analytic background. It is against this that the statistical data must be projected if their full and rich meaning is to be understood. The roots of the problem of assimilation and of

intermarriage, it is pointed out, are imbedded in the history of the migrations of representatives of the European peoples to the United States. The turning point in the character of immigration is generally conceded to have been around 1882, which marks the beginning of a strong migratory movement of the Eastern and South-European peoples, as contrasted with the earlier movements of Northern and North-western European nationalities. Had the new settlers come in small groups or as detached individuals, their presence among the earlier comers would hardly have attracted much attention. As it was, however, the huge waves of immigration which flooded the shores of America slowly began to arouse the fears of the native population. Foreign colonies were imperceptibly but steadily growing in the heart of the large American cities. But, steeped in an intense economic life, the nation, in a mood of large generosity and of absent-mindedness, ignored the pressing social problems that were increasing at an ominous rate. Then, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, came the great European War.

American sentiment at first was hopelessly divided on the merits of the contesting nations and on the question of participation in the bloody struggle. As the war dragged on, cleavages became more and more marked, partisanship and propaganda more open and more audacious. The immigrants from the suppressed nations of Central Europe and from Southern and Eastern Europe expressed in unmistakable terms, their hatred of the royal tyrants and their determination to help their kinsmen to the last in their struggle

for freedom. The return of considerable numbers of reservists to fight in the home-lands, the increased propaganda of the foreign-language newspapers, and, above all, the constant claims of the suffering kindred upon the generosity of their more fortunate brethren in America, kept the immigrant communities in a perpetual state of mental turmoil and raised their nationalistic self-consciousness to a fever-heat. On the other hand, propagandists of the Imperial German Government were deftly plying their treacherous trade. So well did they perform their task that no single influence was so powerful in turning a neutral American sentiment into an active desire for participation in the war against Germany as their own widespread, illegal doings and plans. The epoch-making Presidential election of 1916 served further as a convenient occasion to crystallize the thought of the country against the "hyphenates," who, roused by the continued criticism, vehemently protested their allegiance to America. Once war was declared, however, in April, 1917, the country, seemingly unified by the terrific pressure of an overwhelming emergency, settled down to a vigorous prosecution of the fight against the Central Empires. Anti-German propaganda increased in extent and in violence and would doubtless have taken on more brutally ingenious forms of mob persecution than was actually the case, had the war not come to a comparatively sudden close in the fall of 1918.

There was a profound significance for America in the stress and storm period of the fifty months from August, 1914, to November, 1918. The mental crisis

revealed with painful vividness the true nature of America's problem of assimilation. But it revealed with equal force that the basic issues of the problem had not been formulated, much less met, by the leaders of national thought, and that before a fundamental public policy could be framed, the whole question of the immigrant would have to be reanalyzed in the light of a synthesis of all the phases of the problem.

To arrive at such a synthesis, two current views are carefully looked into: the economic and the racial-cultural. Both are found to be one-sided and static. Neither view makes clear its relation to the other. The first stresses unduly the labor aspect of immigration and assumes a fixity in the American standard of living which is quite unwarranted. The other sees only the supposedly deteriorating effects of the influx of the new immigration upon the blood and the earlier culture of the nation. It fails to see that American civilization and culture are in the process of becoming and that the immigrant groups are in a position to contribute their share to the new culture that is to be. A synthesis of these views must be effected. The economic and racial-cultural phases are simply two aspects of the same question, intimately related, since cultural contributions from the immigrant groups are hardly to be expected as long as the economic basis of their life is unsatisfactory. These detached and fragmentary views of the immigrant problem have been clearly reflected in legislation. As a result, American immigration laws have been eminently inadequate to cope with the problem comprehensively and in a far-sighted statesman-like fashion. The three constituent parts

of a well-rounded public policy on the immigrant question, namely, the policies of selection, of distribution and of incorporation, must henceforth find a logical place in any constructive plan of the future.

VII

But the most serious error in the attempts to assimilate the foreign-born was ignorance of his cultural background and of the part this must play in the process of incorporation. Put baldly, the devotees of the crude, current notion of the "melting pot," bid America take the immigrant whoever he was and wherever he came from, strip him of his cultural heritage, throw him into the great cauldron, stir the pot vigorously, speak the magic word "Americanization" and through the mystic vapors would rise the newly created "American." That this naïve and truly magical formula should still be invoked by intelligent citizens proves the lack of critical thought upon this problem. We have scarcely begun to understand the subtle process of spiritual surgery that must be performed in grafting millions of foreign minds upon the mind of America. The immigrant who lands here is not an atomized individual. He is bound by numberless ties to his past. To break these bonds is as cruel as it is unwise. He is not merely a profitable labor unit. Nor is he just a biologic asset or liability. He is, above all else, a human personality with all the strength and the weakness, all the promise and the richness this term implies.

Led astray by this atomistic view of the immigrant, the eager Americanizer failed to take account of

another striking fact—the rise and growth of immigrant communities. Not immigrant *colonies* merely, but *communities* in the true sociological sense. Without an intimate understanding of the subtle social forces at work in them, strengthening or undermining group solidarity, genuine incorporation is out of the question. Nothing is so essential as a first step to the formulation of a wise national policy of assimilation as a full and sympathetic knowledge of the *inner* life of these immigrant communities. And nothing is more deceptive than to judge them by outward, superficial signs, such as, for example, the number and variety of communal organizations flourishing among them. For, viewed in this way, they present the illusion of permanence; while a closer examination of the process of ethnic fusion reveals the fact that within the span of one, or at the most, of two generations, the community would virtually disappear through biologic mixture, if additions through immigration were to be eliminated.

VIII

The facts of intermarriage, then, as far as they have been gathered, seem inevitably to point to the amalgamation of the European nationalities in the United States, with the possible exception of one or two groups. How is this unique phenomenon to be interpreted? Are we to read in it the slow racial deterioration of the original Anglo-Saxon stock and the consequent sterility of the new nation? And if this is the true version of the facts, are the means which must logically be employed to prevent the threatened racial

debasement,—namely, a complete stoppage of further immigration and an intensification of group consciousness—both feasible and ethical?

Or, starting with the premise that mixture of similar ethnic stocks is not only not harmful but may, on the whole, be beneficial, are the facts to be made to show that while amalgamation is going on, it is not proceeding fast enough and therefore must be consciously accelerated? The methods that would produce such a result as this, are naturally quite different from those in the first case. Thorough and rapid mixture being the goal sought, why not break down as quickly and as systematically as possible the attitude of group solidarity among the immigrant peoples and thus develop an uncompromising, single standard of cultural allegiance?

Or, again, granting that fusion is not harmful, are the facts to be made to illustrate the sociological rather than the biologic phases of the problem, by calling attention to the danger of a sudden break in the tradition of a group and to the mental strain that is imposed upon mating persons with different cultural backgrounds? Viewing the question from this angle, the first requisite would be to slow down the precipitate process of amalgamation, so that the transition from one social milieu to the other may be as smooth as it can reasonably be, in the face of the irresistible forward sweep of ethnic fusion. Thus, rather than destroy interest in the culture of the immigrant parent, the child should be encouraged to foster an intelligent appreciation of it and so prepare itself to transmit the best cultural heritage through the new home created by

the intermarriage. This is all the more important since the vast majority of the mixed marriages take place between persons within the mediocre culture groups. Therefore, to hope for a rich, composite civilization in America through biologic fusion merely, is to chase a will-o-the-wisp. Nothing short of conscious social control of the transmission of the cultural heritage will achieve the result.

Or, finally, is the significance of the facts of intermarriage to be minimized by urging that, in setting up ethnic homogeneity as the sole national ideal, America is diverting her imagination and her will from a far nobler goal, that of an intellectual and emotional harmony among her differing cultural heritages and peoples? It is the latter view that is proposed as a basis for a reasonable policy of incorporation of the immigrant groups. Amalgamation is in progress. It will proceed steadily as the generations pass. In the absence of eugenic control, the only feasible plan is to improve the social and economic setting within which the fusion is taking place. In the last instance, however, choice of mixture or non-mixture remains with the particular group. Not so with the conservation of the cultural heritages and of the potentialities for further creation. These are more amenable to social control. Here America can try, if she will, a daring experiment in civilization-building.

But the experimenter must be guided by a clear understanding of the growth of culture. The mechanical method of "extracting" the valuable culture elements from the numerous heritages, and then combining and recombining them in the hope of producing a

composite "American" culture, is foredoomed to failure. Only an organic or indirect method, which will ensure talent and genius free play in a richly variegated cultural atmosphere, can ever bring lasting results; and this, because spontaneity and uniqueness of reaction to a stimulating social inheritance are of the very essence of the creative mind. Neither the State nor the immigrant groups alone can be entrusted with the supremely important task of fostering the proper cultural environment. It must be a coöperative undertaking in the highest sense of the word. For the immigrant groups it remains to conserve for America, through voluntary cultural community organizations, the unique values of their heritage; while the State will find its proper function in the harmonization of these values, through a synthetic cultural curriculum in its public educational system. It may well be that this would constitute a radical departure from the traditional educational ideal and thus prove infinitely more difficult of realization than would at first appear. But may it not also be that such an ideal is infinitely more worth while, and that ways could be found if only the will were there—the will of America to become a truly spiritual nationality.

X

Nothing has revealed so clearly the need for a new approach in the process of incorporating the immigrant peoples as the experiences of the workers in the Americanization movement during the two decades before the Great War. Shrinking from compulsion as a means of producing genuine citizenship, and finding

that attractive Americanization was woefully ineffective, they cast about for some reason to explain their self-acknowledged failures. They believed they discovered it in methods of teaching palpably unsuited for adult immigrants, in unattractive school-houses to which the pupils were asked to come, in poor economic conditions which left the foreigner but a shred of leisure-time in which to take advantage of the opportunity to learn English and civics; in other words, they sought and still continue to seek the remedy mainly in perfecting *the mechanics* of Americanization, rather than in redefining its principles and its goal.

What then, must be the guiding thought in the quest for a newer ideal of Americanization? It must be the thought of a democracy broad enough to embrace full political equality, human enough to make room for industrial self-realization, generous enough to welcome all culture-groups dwelling in the midst of America to join, as perpetually creative forces, in the building of a synthetic civilization that shall bear the lasting imprints of the genius of many peoples.

PART IV
STATISTICAL SUPPLEMENT

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE.

I

Statistics of intermarriages, locked in forbidding municipal and State records throughout the country, are an inexhaustible mine of information, hardly tapped as yet. Official custodians of these records are for the most part innocent of any knowledge of the meaning and value of the facts they are hoarding from day to day. So vast is the deposit that the adventurous investigator is almost overwhelmed by the richness of the find.

The present study, while confined to one community yet attempts to point out the significance of intermarriage statistics for the problem of race fusion and assimilation in America, and to indicate the possibility for more extensive and more detailed inquiries of the same nature. Yet it is primarily some of the sociological rather than the biologic aspects that are treated here. Such questions as the relative fecundity of mixed as compared with unmixed marriages, or the actual physical effects of mixed marriages upon the offspring are not touched upon.¹ Furthermore, no

¹ An interesting study of relative fecundity among amalgamating peoples is that of A. E. Jenks, "Ethnic Census in Minneapolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 17, July-May, 1911-1912, pp. 776-782. "The Irish blood tends to increase fecundity and

attempt has been made to inquire into the question of desertion or divorce in mixed marriages; ¹ in how many of these marriages, for example, the couple separated, subsequent to the issuance of the marriage certificate, or whether or not the ratio of divorces was higher or lower in the second generation than in the first. For purposes of this study it was felt legitimate to assume that the mere fact of requesting and of securing a marriage certificate was sufficient proof of social, if not biologic assimilation of the parties to the marriage.

II

The figures offered here were gathered from original marriage certificates in the files of the office of the City Clerk of New York City. Only records for the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx were available for inspection. This enforced delimitation of territory does not however affect the results materially, as the population of these two boroughs is quite typical of the general population and differs in no fundamental Scandinavian blood tends to decrease fecundity of other peoples in amalgamation."

¹ Differences in nationality between husband and wife were found to be a contributing cause to desertion. "The 138 cases in which there was a difference of nationality formed about 28% of the 499 for which information on this point was given. In the general population of the United States in 1900 only 8.5 per cent was of mixed parentage and for New York City the proportion was less than 13 per cent. . . . A difference in nationality was more than twice as frequent among the cases of desertion as among the general population of the city where it is most common." Lillian Brandt, *Family Desertion*, pp. 18-19, The Charity Organization Society of New York, 1905.

respect from the inhabitants of the excluded three Boroughs of Brooklyn, Richmond and Queens.¹

III

The total number of marriage licenses issued during the five years (1908-1912), covering the period studied, was 171,356 distributed as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Licenses Issued</i>
1908	29,491
1909	31,597
1910	34,657
1911	36,621
1912	38,990
Total	171,356

Of this total, 101,854 or 59.4% were selected for this inquiry. From this number, however, were excluded all marriages where either the bride or the groom was born in the United States of native-born parents (NBNP). This was necessary, since the original nationality in such cases could not be determined, and "American" nationality, as such, was a doubtful term. Jews and Negroes of the third generation (native-born of native parents) were not excluded because, in the one case, religion and race, in the other, color, was a clear enough distinction marking the groups as separate. For the immediate purposes of the study,

¹ Out of a total population of 4,766,883 for New York City in 1910, the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx had 2,762,522 or 57.9%. The proportions of foreign-born in the various Boroughs were: Manhattan, 47.9%; Bronx, 34.7%; Brooklyn, 35.2%; Queens, 27.9%; Richmond, 28.4%. See *U. S. Census*, 1910, Vol. 1, Population Statistics.

then, only 79,704 marriages or couples were considered.

This substantial portion of the total number of certificates issued (101,854) was selected by a broad sampling process as indicated below, and thus assures a rather accurate presentation of the true situation.

The selection of the five years' period (1908-1912) was guided by three considerations. The first was the lack of complete data before 1908. Beginning with that year the contract form of marriage record, with hardly any information except the names and addresses of the contracting parties, was replaced by a rather elaborate questionnaire form. Moreover, the census year, 1910, appeared to be a useful pivotal year, so to speak, for purposes of comparison in dealing with the figures gathered for the two years previous to and the two years succeeding the taking of the Federal census. The fact, also, that abnormal social influences (such as arose out of the Great War which opened in August, 1914), were not operative as yet in the lives of the immigrant communities, marked the period as very acceptable for study.

IV

The records selected (101,854) were spread over the five-year period in such a way that approximately 20,000 cases fell within each year. These were further distributed about evenly over every month of every year, and over the beginning, middle and end of each month of the year. This precaution was necessary in order to take account of the fluctuation in the number of marriages during the more or less "popular" and

“unpopular” parts of the year. Thus during the early summer months (particularly May and June) and the later months of the fall (such as October and November) a larger number of marriage certificates is issued than during the other months. Otherwise the records were examined as they appeared serially in the record books.

V

Each marriage certificate was carefully examined and the pertinent facts summarized on a separate record card.

The facts recorded on the card were:

1. Country of birth of Groom
2. " " " " Bride
3. " " " " Groom's father
4. " " " " " mother
5. " " " " Bride's father
6. " " " " " mother
7. Occupation of Groom (whenever given)
8. " " Bride (" ")
9. Generation of Groom (FBFP-1st generation)
 (NBFP-2nd generation)
 (NBNP-3rd generation)
10. Generation of Bride (Similar to the above)
11. Color of Groom
12. Color of Bride

The summary cards were then classified and re-classified in numerous ways to yield the various statistical tables.

VI

These tables may conveniently be grouped as follows:

Group A: Tables containing facts on intermarriage, according to generation, among ethnic elements in New York City:

1. Intermarriage between persons of different generations (Men). (Table I, p. 104.)
2. Intermarriage between persons of different generations (Women). (Table II, p. 105.)
3. Proportion of intermarriage according to sex and generation. (Table III, p. 110.)

Group B: Tables containing proportion of intermarriage among the various nationalities represented in this study.

1. Proportion of intermarriage among the nationalities studied (nationalities arranged alphabetically). (Table F, p. 264.)
2. Proportions of intermarriage arranged in order of magnitude, in five classes (Class I—Class V) for men and women considered together as a group. (Table V, pp. 121–124.)
- 3.^a Proportions of intermarriage arranged in order of magnitude (for men and women separately).
- 4.^a Number of intermarriages for each nationality separately (showing nationalities intermarried with and generations of persons intermarrying). Series 1–91; one table for men of each nationality considered in the

^a This set of tables will be found in the monograph *Intermarriage in New York City, A Statistical Study of the Amalgamation of European Peoples*, by Julius Drachsler, to be published in the Columbia University Studies of History, Economics and Public Law.

study. Series 2-88; one table for women of each nationality considered in this study.

5. Classification of nationalities by percentage of increase in intermarriages of 2d generation over 1st generation.

Group C: Tables containing facts on number of nationalities intermarried with and nationalities selected in intermarriage.

1. Number of distinct nationalities with which persons of various immigrant groups intermarried. (Table VI, p. 137.)
2. Nationalities selected in intermarriages by persons of the 2d generation. (Table VII, pp. 138-139.)

Group D: Tables containing facts on the relations of occupation, cultural level and intermarriage.

1. Proportion of intermarriage by occupation groups. (Table VIII, p. 142.)
2. Proportion of intermarriage by occupation and culture groups. (Table IX, p. 144.)
3. Proportion of intermarriage by occupation and generation. (Table IV, pp. 116-117.)

Group E: Miscellaneous Tables:

- 1.^a Proportion of marriageable persons among various immigrant groups (1910-1917).
2. Proportion of marriageable persons in N. Y. City (1910) by generations. (Table A, p. 256).

^a This table will be found in monograph referred to on p. 246.

3. Proportion of marriageable persons in Manhattan and Bronx Boroughs, New York City (1910) by generation. (Table B, p. 255.)
4. Proportion of sexes in the first and second generations among various nationalities in N. Y. City, 1910. (Table C, p. 256).
5. Proportion of Intermarriage among men of various nationalities in New York City (1908-1912) by occupation and generation. (Table D, p. 257.)
6. Publications in foreign languages (1913-1917). (Table E, pp. 258-259.)
7. Net increase in population of the United States through immigration (1909-1914), classified by occupation groups. (Table X, p. 205).

VII

As was to be expected, several sources of error appeared in the course of the work. There was first, the possibility of error arising out of a misjudgment of the nationality of either the groom or the bride or both. In the cases of natives of such countries as England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and others with quite a homogeneous population, the facts as given in the marriage certificate (country of birth of bride or of groom, and country of birth of parents of both) were sufficiently clear to make the proper judgment. However, for countries like Austria-Hungary and Russia, as they were before the European War, the persons belonging to the various constituent populations had to be separated as carefully as pos-

sible. The nationalities in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were found to fall into the following groups:

- Austria (Bohemian)
- Austria (German)
- Austria (Polish)
- Austria (Jewish)
- Hungary (Slovak)
- Hungary (German)
- Hungary (Hungarian)
- Hungary (Jewish)
- For Russia: Russia (Polish)
- Russia (Jewish)

The marriage records contained sufficient information to make the classification in these cases quite reliable. These items were taken into consideration:

1. Geographic section of the country of birth (Austria-Hungary and Russia) of both persons who married and his or her parents. (The various nationalities in these countries are concentrated in certain well-defined areas.)

2. Name of groom and of bride (distinctive Bohemian or German or Jewish or Slovak or Hungarian or Polish name).

3. Names of witnesses to the marriage ceremony.

4. Name of the priest or clergyman officiating, in many cases, the clergyman being well known in New York City as belonging to a definite religious sect and a definite nationality.

Wherever there was doubt, the record was omitted.

For both Austria-Hungary and Russia, the Jews were classified under the heads: Austria (Jew), Hungary (Jew) and Russia (Jew). In a similar manner, the Jews of all other countries were indicated separately, as Rumanian Jews, German Jews, French Jews, English Jews, American Jews and so on. Of course, in the records of intermarriages between Jews and non-Jews even greater care had to be exercised to include only genuine intermarriages. Here the determining facts were:

1. Country of birth of groom and of bride.
2. Country of birth of parents of groom and of bride.
3. Name of groom and of bride.
4. Names of witnesses.
5. Name of officiating clergyman.

Only those cases were recorded where there was absolutely no doubt as to the intermarriage. This naturally would make the intermarriage ratio lower than it probably is in actuality; for, numerous Jews and Jewesses who intermarry, drop their original Jewish names and adopt non-Jewish names. Moreover, in intermarriages between Jews and non-Jews it is not very frequent to have a clergyman of either faith perform the ceremony, thus punctuating the lack of religious affiliation of the parties to the marriage.

VIII

Still another source of error that must be noted, is one arising out of the definition of what constitutes an intermarriage. Two interpretations are possible,

a strict and a liberal one. According to the first, an intermarriage is a marriage between two persons of distinct national, religious or racial descent (the nationality of the father being taken as the nationality of the child). A marriage between an Italian born in Italy of Italian parents or born in the United States of Italian parents, and an English woman born in England of English parents or born in the United States of English parents would be a case in point. Another illustration of this type of marriage (somewhat less strict) is that between a man born in Scotland whose father was Scotch and whose mother was French, and a woman born in Sweden, whose father was Swedish and whose mother was German. According to this definition, cases in which the mothers of both bride and groom were of the same nationalities or were born in the United States would be excluded.

A more liberal definition, however, might be framed. This would include all cases where either the fathers or the mothers of the parties of the intermarriage were of the same nationality. An illustration of this type of marriage would be the case of the Irish groom, whose father was Irish and whose mother was Italian, and the bride whose father was German and whose mother was Italian. Here the fathers are of different nationalities but the mothers are of the same nationalities. In this study the broader definition was followed; but since the proportion of cases that would have to be excluded according to a strict interpretation of intermarriage was found to be only 3.03%, the results can hardly be appreciably affected by their inclusion.

IX

One other source of error must be pointed out, that could not have been avoided. The original marriage records give the age of the person marrying, but (for the foreign-born) give neither the year of arrival in the United States nor the length of residence in this country. It is thus impossible to tell how old the foreign-born man or woman was at the time of arrival. The person may have been less than a year old or may have been 14 years or 18 years or 25 years of age. And yet, in each of these cases, the person is considered as of the "first generation" with all that this term implies.¹

It can thus plausibly be argued that the "first generation" group considered in this study may in reality not be a group consisting of adult foreigners upon whom the old world culture had left an unmistakable impress, and who are therefore quite distinct from the native-born "second generation" as social types. The "first generation," cannot then be contrasted with the "second generation," for the "first generation" may include a large proportion of foreign-born who came here at a very early age, grew up in a new-world environment and are practically, if not completely, the same in behavior, in outlook, in sentiment as the true "second generation." In other words, the "first generation" group considered here may be a sort of "specious" second generation group, and much of the reasoning about it as a "first generation" group would really not be applicable.

¹ For a definition of "generation" as used here, see Chapter IV, p. 103.

It must be admitted that theoretically there is much force in the objection, and that this criticism cannot be fully met, since the necessary data are lacking in the marriage records themselves. In spite of this difficulty, however, the figures are not by any means seriously invalidated. Reasoning from an inspection of the actual results obtained on the assumption that the two groups are distinct "generation" groups, it may be said that the differences between the intermarriage ratios of the two groups are obviously so striking that there must be a great qualitative distinction between the groups considered. If the proportion of intermarriage for the "first generation" as a group is 11 per 100 and the proportion for the "second generation" is 33 per hundred (with a wider range, by far, for specific nationalities) then, a priori, the view would seem plausible that the assumed "first generation" is most probably composed of social types quite different from those comprising the "second generation" group. Of course, as all a priori arguments, this has its definite limitations and ought to be checked if possible by a recourse to an analysis of the facts themselves. These, however, are not available at present.

X

This criticism and the method of meeting it, illustrate well the difficulty in treating the figures gathered here according to refined statistical methods. In fact, no such attempt has been made or could have been made. On the one hand, this was impossible because of the lack of certain basic figures in accurate enough

form. Thus, for example, no statistics are available giving the exact proportion of marriageable persons in each of the separate national groups included. An exact analysis of group cohesion in these several groups, and therefore significant comparisons between groups could not be undertaken. Moreover, the number of marriages recorded in some of the groups is too small to yield significant proportions in themselves. Only results derived from the mass figures have any real meaning. But this is all that is needed to bring to light the *main tendencies* in the process of group fusion as it is at present proceeding in large American cities. It is open to serious doubt whether further refinements would substantially alter the conclusions arrived at.

APPENDIX B
SUPPLEMENTARY STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE A
PROPORTION OF MARRIAGEABLE PERSONS IN N. Y. CITY
ACCORDING TO GENERATIONS

1910

(Adapted from U. S. Census, 1910, Vol. 3, Pop. Stat., p. 222, Table 16)

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Single Men</i>	<i>% Grand Total</i>	<i>Single Women</i>	<i>% Grand Total</i>	<i>Number of Men per 100 Women</i>	<i>Number of Women per 100 Men</i>
1st Generation (Foreign-Born White) .	298,096	42.9	231,066	38.2	129	77
2d Generation (Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage)	257,869	37.1	243,857	40.4	105	94
3d Generation (Native White of Native Parentage)	139,117	20.0	129,668	21.4	107	93
Grand Total	695,082	100.0	604,591	100.0		

TABLE B
PROPORTION OF MARRIAGEABLE PERSONS IN MANHATTAN AND BRONX BOROUGH
IN N. Y. CITY

ACCORDING TO GENERATIONS

1910

(Adapted from U. S. Census, 1910, Vol. 3, Pop. Stat., p. 222, Table 16)

GENERATION	SINGLE MEN				SINGLE WOMEN				No. of Men per 100 Women	No. of Women per 100 Men
	Manhattan	Bronx	Total	% Grand Total	Manhattan	Bronx	Total	% Grand Total		
1st Generation (Foreign-Born White)	191,173	19,140	210,313	49.3	157,110	12,487	169,597	45.7	124	80
2d Generation (Native White of Foreign Par- entage)	119,271	26,177	145,448	34.1	112,610	24,919	137,529	37.0	105	94
3d Generation (Native White of Native Par- entage)	58,091	12,806	708,97	16.6	52,399	11,638	64,037	17.3	110	90
Grand Total	368,535	58,123	426,658	100.0	322,119	49,044	371,163	100.0		

TABLE D
 PROPORTION OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG MEN OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES
 IN NEW YORK CITY
 ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION AND GENERATION
 (1908-1912)

MEN					
<i>Culture Level</i>	<i>Occupation Group</i>	<i>1st Generation (FBFP)</i>	<i>% of Grand Total</i>	<i>2nd Generation (NBFP)</i>	<i>% of Grand Total</i>
High	Professional Service.....	378	11.1	285	11.3
	Commerce and Trade.....	679	19.9	674	26.6
Mediocre	Manufacturing & Mechanical Pursuits	1,175	34.4	886	34.9
	Personal & Domestic Service.....	597	17.6	103	4.1
Low	Public Service.....	151	4.5	123	4.9
	Agriculture.....	74	2.3	20	.8
	Transportation.....	31	.9	28	1.1
	Navigation.....	50	1.5	14	.6
Very low	Unskilled.....	265	7.8	399	15.7
	Grand Total.....	3,400	100.0	2,532	100.0

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TABLE E.—PUBLICATIONS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES. (CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES)
(Figures Compiled from *Ayer's American Newspaper Directory*)

LANGUAGE	No. of Publications				CIRCULATION									
	1918	1914	1916	1917	1918	No. of Publications giving Circulation	1914	No. of Publications giving Circulation	1916	No. of Publications giving Circulation	1916	No. of Publications giving Circulation	1917	No. of Publications giving Circulation
Albanian....				5										
Arabic.....	13	11	8	12					3,000	1			5,000	
Armenian....	5	6	6	7	1,000	4,750	2	4,750	2	2	12,657	5	18,157	6
Bohemian....	52	57	64	62	496,113	487,206	54	542,763	45	45	550,414	47	465,885	45
Bulgarian....	1	1	1	1	9,000	9,000	1	11,000	1	1	14,000	1	14,000	1
Chinese.....	7	7	6	6	26,250	26,800	6	30,150	6	6	28,153	6	35,000	5
Croatian....	11	17	16	15	16,200	60,610	7	62,616	8	8	67,650	8	38,650	5
Esperanto...	1	1	1	1										
Finnish.....	17	18	21	20	61,566	59,595	13	69,931	14	14	93,408	16	96,419	15
French.....	43	45	46	43	201,422	199,747	31	231,888	30	30	389,800	30	462,127	32
German.....	509	551	517	482	3,837,526	3,553,919	386	3,598,567	402	402	3,875,310	394	3,381,540	363
Greek.....	10	16	16	18	32,160	61,900	5	60,800	5	5	93,040	5	93,507	6
Hollandish..	19	19	19	17	35,425	37,442	13	32,889	11	11	35,792	11	39,592	12
Hungarian...	19	22	19	24	116,352	152,927	10	141,644	9	9	180,830	11	157,050	15
Italian.....	86	96	92	103	413,140	529,801	47	568,933	44	44	610,534	51	609,381	52
Japanese....	16	16		17	40,073	38,773	8				50,300	9	51,400	10

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	3	4	4	4	4					18,748	2	19,332	2	18,832	2
Lettish.....															
Lithuanian....	14	18	16	19	17	44,232	8	65,870	10	88,403	11	94,186	10	95,251	9
Norwegian & Danish....	59	61	61	61	57	515,648	50	510,407	48	416,506	47	408,302	45	437,878	44
Polish.....	60	69	71	76	78	458,596	38	525,287	39	614,624	37	776,663	44	859,557	47
Portuguese....	13	12	16	17	16	10,900	7	16,375	5	18,468	5	49,511	9	55,855	8
Romanian....	2	2	3	3	5	4,000	2	2,000	2	2,000	1	18,000	1	19,000	2
Russian.....	5	8	8	11	13	46,000	4	34,000	4	47,434	5	89,573	7	121,350	7
Ruthenian....	12	13	11	15	9	13,600	3	12,500	3	21,535	5	66,435	8	47,593	7
Servian.....	7	9	11	9	8	19,000	2	39,500	3	16,800	2	16,700	2	12,942	2
Slovak.....	18	19	21	24	24	81,120	8	87,836	8	131,766	11	156,343	14	153,470	11
Slovenian....	11	10	10	11	14	38,200	9	87,905	9	63,184	6	51,292	8	46,985	6
Spanish.....	64	73	88	84	86	112,054	25	132,251	27	177,692	37	171,558	37	270,068	45
Swedish.....	72	72	69	70	69	630,077	54	651,370	56	647,384	56	625,443	48	625,004	47
Welsh.....	2	2	2	2	2	9,800	2	9,700	2	9,700	2	9,700	2	9,700	2
Yiddish.....	30	39	34	40	41	684,006	11	723,314	21	876,703	25	938,093	26	848,815	30
Hebrew.....		1	2	3	4			1,000	1	6,000	2	6,000	2	6,000	2
Belgian- Flemish....				2	3							7,850	2	10,850	3
Persian.....				1	1										
Rusin.....					1										
Hindustani...					1										
Ukrainian....					1										
Total.....	1,181	1,275	1,256	1,326	1,295	7,953,460	803	8,121,785	821	8,515,878	832	9,533,195	863	8,863,858	842

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF THE SMITH-BANKHEAD AMERICANIZATION BILL

(S. 5464—H. R. 15402)

Section 1—provides that the Secretary of the Interior, coöperating with Federal and other agencies be authorized to undertake the education of illiterates and those unable to speak, read and write our language and undertake the training of teachers and directors.

Sections 2 and 3—provide for the following appropriations: Five million dollars for the first year and twelve million and a half annually thereafter to help pay salaries for teachers and directors; two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the year ending June, 1919, and seven hundred and fifty thousand thereafter annually until 1926 to help prepare teachers and directors for the work.

Section 4—provides that States may secure the benefits of the act by authorizing coöperation and appropriating an amount equal to that allotted by the Government, provided that legislation require not less than 200 hours annually for all illiterate minors unable to speak, read and write the English language until they attain third-grade equivalents, and provided that the money is not used for any other purpose than that specified.

Section 5—provides that the money authorized be apportioned to the States annually in proportion to the number of illiterates given in the last preceding published United States Census.

Section 6—provides that each State submit to the Secretary for approval plans and proposals for using the appropriation, including kind of instruction, equipment, courses, methods, qualifications

of teachers and directors and the conditions under which work will be done.

Section 7—provides that the Secretary ascertain each year the States using the allotment and certifying the facts to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall pay quarterly.

Sections 8 and 9—provide that the Secretary of the Treasury may withhold money if the conditions of the act are not met and that if any portion of the money is used for other purposes, it shall be replaced and that subsequent appropriations shall be withheld until replaced, also that unexpended portions of the annual appropriation shall be deducted from the next succeeding annual allotment.

Section 10—provides that two hundred and fifty thousand dollars be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June, 1919, and one million dollars annually thereafter until 1926 for the purpose of administration of the act.

Section 11—provides that no money appropriated shall be applied directly or indirectly for the erection, equipment, purchase or rental of buildings or for the support of religious or privately owned institutions.

Sections 12 and 13—provide that the Secretary make an annual report to Congress of all operations, expenditures and allotments, including what has been done by States, and perform any acts and make rules for the proper enforcement of this act.

NEW YORK CITY (1908-1912)

	No.	NATIONALITY	<div style="text-align:center;">No. OF INTERMARRIAGES PER 100 MARRIAGES</div>									<div style="text-align:center;">NO. OF MARRIAGES</div>						<div style="text-align:center;">NO. OF INTERMARRIAGES</div>																										
			Men and Women 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)				Men 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)				Women 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)				Men and Women 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)			Men 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)			Women 1st Gen. & 2nd Gen. (FBFP + NBFP)																							
			Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.	Total 1st & 2nd Generations (FBFP + NBFP)	1st Gen. (FBFP)	2nd Gen. (NBFP)	% In-crease or Decrease of 2d Gen. over 1st Gen.		
1.	Armenia.....	9.63	9.14	50.00	547.0	17.58	16.67	100	599.8	0	0	0	0	166	164	2	94	90	1	75	74	1	16	15	1	16	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2.	Austria (Bohm.)....	25.15	17.71	48.57	274.2	12.12	10.69	17.69	165.4	30.52	23.65	66.81	282.4	1,151	1,101	350	635	505	130	816	596	220	365	195	170	77	54	23	288	141	147	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3.	Austria (Germ.)....	50.71	55.20	88.72	160.7	55.97	57.98	89.58	172.3	62.87	58.09	88.23	151.8	988	855	133	452	404	48	536	451	85	590	472	118	253	210	43	337	262	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4.	Austria (Ital.)....	35.89	36.84	0	0	47.82	47.82	0	0	18.75	20.00	0	0	3	1	23	23	0	1	14	14	0	11	11	0	11	11	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Austria (Jew.)....	.99	.57	5.68	996.4	.84	.55	5.15	936.3	1.12	.50	6.00	120.0	11,032	12,890	1,142	6,767	6,341	426	7,265	6,549	716	139	74	65	57	35	22	82	39	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6.	Austria (Pol.)....	13.56	12.51	31.80	254.1	9.25	8.87	16.80	189.4	17.48	15.87	42.67	268.8	5,197	4,914	283	2,475	2,356	119	2,722	2,554	164	705	615	90	229	209	20	476	406	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
7.	Belgium.....	59.63	51.81	80.00	154.4	61.06	58.41	83.34	142.6	58.09	55.43	76.92	138.7	218	193	25	113	101	12	105	92	13	130	110	20	69	59	10	61	51	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
8.	British West Ind. (Col.)..	.48	.48	0	0	.64	.65	0	0	.27	.27	0	0	1,666	1,637	28	925	916	9	741	722	19	8	8	0	6	6	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
9.	British West Ind. (Engl.)..	39.86	40.13	0	0	48.31	48.31	0	0	28.12	28.57	0	0	153	152	1	89	89	0	64	63	1	61	61	0	43	43	0	18	18														

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